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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
ARTS and SCIENCES  
OF THE  
ANTIENTS,

Under the following HEADS:

THE ART MILITARY, GRAMMAR and GRAMMARIANS, PHILOLOGY and PHILOGERS, RHETORICIANS, SOPHISTS, POETRY and POETS.

---

By Mr. ROLLIN,

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Translated from the FRENCH.

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THE



THE  
HISTORY  
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OF THE  
ANTIENS, &c.

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OF THE ART MILITARY.

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE V.

*Of battles.*

**I**T is time to make our troops march out of their camp, whether Greeks or Romans, and to bring them into the field against the enemy:

SECT. I.

*The success of battles principally depends upon the generals; or commanders in chief.*

**I**T is in this view military merit appears in all its extent. To know whether a general were worthy of that name, the antiens examined the conduct he had observed in a battle. They did

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not expect success from the number of troops, which is often a disadvantage; but from his prudence and valour, the cause and assurance of victory. They considered him as the soul of his army, that directs all its motions, whose dictates every thing obeys, and whose good or bad conduct generally determines the obtaining or losing a battle. The affairs of the Carthaginians were absolutely desperate, when Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian arrived. Upon the account they gave him of what had passed in the battle, he attributed the ill success of it solely to the incapacity of their generals, and fully proved the truth of his opinion. He had brought with him neither infantry nor cavalry, but knew how to use both. Every thing had soon a new aspect, and demonstrated that one good head is of more value than an hundred thousand arms. The three defeats of the Romans by Hannibal taught them the effects of a bad choice. The war with Perseus had continued three years entire, through the ill conduct of three consuls, that had been charged with it: Paulus Emilius terminated it gloriously in less than one. It is, on these occasions, the difference between man and man is most evident.

The first care of a general, and that which demands great force of judgment and equal prudence, is to examine whether it be proper or no to come to a battle: for both may be equally dangerous. Mardonius perished miserably with his army of three hundred thousand men, for not having followed the advice of Artabazus, which was not to give battle, and rather to use gold and silver against the Greeks than iron. It was contrary to the opinion of the wise Memnon, that Darius's generals fought the battle of the Granicus, which gave the first blow to the empire of the Persians. The blind temerity of Varro, notwithstanding

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

3

standing his colleague's remonstrances, and the advice of Fabius, drew upon the republic the unfortunate battle of Cannæ; whereas a delay of a few weeks would probably have ruined Hannibal for ever. Perseus, on the contrary, let slip the occasion of fighting the Romans, in not having taken the advantage of the ardour of his army; and attacked them instantly after the defeat of their horse, which had thrown their troops into disorder and consternation. Cæsar had been lost after the battle of Dyrrachium; if Pompey had known how to improve his advantage. Great enterprises have their decisive moments. The important lies in wisely resolving what to chuse, and in seizing the present occasion; that never returns \* when once neglected: and in this the whole depends upon the general's prudence. † There is a distribution of cares and duties in an army. The head decrees, the arms execute. ‡ *Think only,* says Otho to his soldiers, *of your arms, and of fighting with bravery; and leave the care of taking good measures, and directing your valour aright, to me.*

\* Si in occasionis momento, ejus prætervolat opportunitas, cunctatus paulum fueris, nequicquam mox amissam quæras. *Liv. l. 25. n. 38.*

† Divisa inter exercitum ducesque mûnia. Militibus cupido pugnandi convenit: duces providendo, consultando, profunt. *Tacit. Hist. l. 3. c. 20.*

‡ Vobis arma & animus sit, mihi consilium & virtutis vestræ regimen relinquitte. *Ib. l. 1. c. 84.*

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

## S E C T. II.

*Care to consult the gods and harangue the troops before a battle.*

**T**HE moment before a battle, the antients believed themselves the most obliged to consult the gods, and to incline them in their favour. They consulted them either by the flight or singing of birds, by the inspection of the entrails of victims, by the manner in which the sacred chickens pecked their corn, and by things of the like nature. They laboured to render them propitious by sacrifices, vows, and prayers. Many of the generals, especially in the earlier times, discharged these duties with great solemnity and sentiments of religion, which they sometimes carried to a puerile and ridiculous superstition: others either despised them in their hearts, or openly made a jest of them; and people did not fail to ascribe the misfortunes, which their ignorance or temerity drew upon them, to that irreligious contempt. Never did a prince express more reverence for the gods than Cyrus the Great. When he was marching to charge Croesus, he sung the hymn of battle aloud, to which the whole army replied with great cries, invoking the god of war. Paulus Emilius, before he gave Perseus battle, sacrificed twenty oxen successively to Hercules, without finding any favourable sign in all those victims: it was not till the one and twentieth that he believed he saw something which promised him the victory. There are also examples of a different kind. Epaminondas, no less brave, though not so superstitious as Paulus Emilius, finding himself opposed in giving battle at Leuctra, upon account of bad omens, replied by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is:

*The*

*The only good omen is to fight for one's country.* A Roman consul, who was fully determined to fight the enemy as soon as he came up with them, kept himself close shut up within his litter, during his march, to prevent any bad omen from frustrating his design. Another did more: Seeing that the chickens would not eat, he threw them into the sea, saying, *If they won't eat, let them drink.* Such examples of irreligion were uncommon, and the contrary opinion prevailed. There was, without doubt, superstition in many of these ceremonies: but the sacrifices, vows, and prayers, which always preceded battles, were proofs, that they expected success from the divinity, who alone disposed of it.

After having paid these duties to the gods, they applied themselves to men, and the general exhorted his soldiers. It was an established custom with all nations to harangue their troops before a battle; which custom was very reasonable, and might contribute very much to the victory. It is certainly right, when an army is upon the point of marching against the enemy, in order to engage, to oppose the fear of a seemingly approaching death with the most powerful reasons, and such as, if not capable of totally extinguishing that fear so deeply implanted in our nature, may at least combat and overcome it: Such reasons, as the love of our country, the obligation to defend it at the price of our blood, the remembrance of past victories, the necessity of supporting the glory of our nation, the injustice of a violent and cruel enemy, the dangers to which the fathers, mothers, wives, and children of the soldiers are exposed: These motives, I say, and many of the like nature, represented from the mouth of a general beloved and respected by his troops, may make a very strong impression upon their minds. Military elo-

quence consists less in words, than in a certain easy and engaging air of authority, that at once advises and commands; and still more in the inestimable advantage of being beloved by the troops, \* which might supply its place if wanted.

Xenoph.  
in Cyrop.  
l. 3. p. 84.

It is not, as Cyrus observes, that such discourses can in an instant change the disposition of soldiers, and from timorous and abject, as they might be, make them immediately bold and intrepid: but they awaken, they rouse, the courage nature has before given them, and add a new force and vivacity to it.

To judge rightly of the custom of haranguing the troops, as generally and constantly practised by the antients, we must go back to the ages wherein they lived, and consider their manners and customs with particular attention.

The armies of the Greeks and Romans were composed of the same citizens, to whom, in the city and in time of peace, it was customary to communicate all the affairs of the state. The general did no more in the camp, or in the field of battle, than he would have been obliged to do in the *Roftrum*, or tribunal of harangues. He did his troops honour, and attracted their confidence and affection, in imparting to them his designs, motives, and measures. By that means he interested the soldier in the success. The sight only of the generals, officers, and soldiers assembled, communicated a reciprocal courage and ardour in them all. Every one piqued himself at that time upon the goodness of his aspect and appearance, and obliged his neighbour to do the same. The fear of some was abated, or entirely banished, by the valour of others. The disposition of particular persons be-

\* Caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis. Tacit. in Agric. l. c. 16.



## OF THE ART MILITARY.

came that of the whole body, and gave affairs their aspect.

There were occasions when it was most necessary to excite the good-will and zeal of the soldier : for instance, when a difficult and hasty march was to be made, to extricate the army out of a dangerous situation, or to obtain one more commodious : when courage, patience, and constancy were necessary for supporting famine and other violent distresses, conditions painful to nature : when some difficult, dangerous, but very important enterprise was to be undertaken : when it was necessary to console, encourage, and re-animate the troops after a defeat : when an hazardous retreat was to be made in view of the enemy, in a country he was master of : and lastly, when only a generous effort was wanting to terminate a war, or some important enterprise.

Upon these and the like occasions, the generals never failed to speak in public to the army, in order to sound their disposition by their acclamations, more or less strong, to inform them of their reasons for such and such conduct, and to conciliate them to it ; to dispel the false reports which exaggerated difficulties, and discouraged them ; to let them see the remedies preparing for the distresses they were under, and the success to be expected from them ; to explain the precautions it was necessary to take, and the motives for taking them. It was the general's interest to flatter the soldier in making him the confident of his designs, fears, and expedients, in order to engage him to share in them, and act in concert and from the same motives with himself. The general in the midst of soldiers, who, as well as himself, were all not only members of the state, but had a share in the authority of the government, considered him as a father, in the midst of his family.

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It may not be easy to conceive how he could make himself heard by the troops, but that difficulty will vanish if we remember, that the armies of the Greeks and Romans were not very numerous. Those of the former seldom exceeded ten or twelve thousand men, and of the latter very rarely twice that number; I do not speak of later times. The generals were heard, as the orators were in the public assemblies, or from the tribunal for harangues. All people did not hear: but however the whole people were informed at Rome and Athens; the whole people deliberated and decided, and none of them complained of not having heard. It sufficed, that the most antient, the most considerable, the principals of companies and quarters were present at the harangue, of which they afterwards gave an account to the rest.

On the column of Trajan, the emperor is seen haranguing the troops from a tribunal of turf raised higher than the soldiers heads, with the principal officers round him upon the platform, and the multitude forming a circle at a distance. One would not believe in how little room a great number of unarmed men will stand upright, when they press close to each other; and these harangues were usually made in the camp to the soldiers quiet and unarmed. Besides which, they accustomed themselves from their youth to speak upon occasion with a strong and distinct voice.

When the armies were more numerous, and upon the point of giving battle, they had a very simple and natural manner of haranguing the troops. The general on horseback rode through the ranks, and spoke something to the several bodies of troops in order to animate them. \* Alexander did so at the

\* Alexander ante prima signa ibat.—Cumque agmen obequicaret, varia oratione, ut cujusque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur.  
2. Curt. l. 3. c. 10.

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

battle of Issus, and Darius almost the same at that of \* Arbela, though in a different manner. He harangued his troops from his chariot, directing his looks and gesture to the officers and soldiers that surrounded him. Without doubt, neither the one nor the other could be heard by any but those who were nearest them: but these soon transferred the substance of their discourses to the rest of the army.

Justin, who abridged Trogus Pompeius, an excellent historian that lived in the time of Augustus, repeats an entire harangue, which his author had put into the mouth of Mithridates. It is very long, which ought not to seem surprising, because Mithridates does not make it just before a battle, but only to animate his troops against the Romans, whom he had before overthrown in several battles, and intended to attack again. His army consisted of almost three hundred thousand men of two and twenty different nations, who had each their peculiar language, all which Mithridates could speak, and therefore had no occasion for interpreters to explain his discourse to them. Justin, where he repeats the speech in question, barely says, that Mithridates called an assembly of his soldiers: *Ad concionem milites vocat*. But what did he do to make two and twenty nations understand him? Did he repeat to each of them the whole discourse quoted by Justin? That is improbable. It were to be wished, that the historian had explained himself more clearly, and given us some light upon this head. Perhaps he contented himself with speaking to his own nation, and making known his views and designs to the rest by interpreters.

Darius, sicut curru eminetat, dextra lævaque ad circumstantia agmina oculos manusque circumferens, &c. *Æ. Curt. l. 4.*

Han-

Liv. l. 30.  
2. 33.

Hannibal acted in this manner. When he was going to give Scipio battle in Africa, he thought it incumbent on him to exhort his troops: and, as every thing was different amongst them, language, customs, laws, arms, habits, and interests, so he made use of different motives to animate them.

“ To the auxiliary troops he proposed an immediate reward, and an augmentation of their pay out of the booty that should be taken. He inflamed the peculiar and natural hatred of the Gauls against the Romans: As for the Ligurians, who inhabited a mountainous and barren country, he set before them the fertile vallies of Italy, as the fruit of their victory. He represented to the Moors and Numidians the cruel and violent government of Massinissa, to which they would be subjected, if overcome. In this manner he animated these different nations, by the different views of hope and fear. \* As to the Carthaginians, he omitted nothing that might excite their valour, and addressed himself to them in the warmest and most pathetic terms: the danger of their country, their household gods, the tombs of their ancestors, the terror and consternation of their fathers and mothers, their wives and children; in fine, the fate of Carthage, which the event of that battle would either ruin and reduce into perpetual slavery, or render mistress of the universe; every thing being extreme which she had either to hope or fear.”

This is a very fine discourse. But how did he make these different nations understand it? Livy informs us: He spoke to the Carthaginians himself, and ordered the commanders of each nation to repeat to them what he had said.

\* Carthaginienſibus mœnia patriæ, dii penates, ſepulcra majorum, liberi cum parentibus, conjugesque pavidæ, aut excidium ſervitiumque, aut imperium orbis terrarum; nihil aut in metum aut in ſpem medium oſtentatur.

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II

In this manner, the general sometimes assembled the officers of his army, and, after having explained what he desired the troops might be told, he sent them back to their several brigades or companies, in order to report what they had heard, and animate them for the battle. Arrian observes this in particular of Alexander the Great before the famous battle of Arbela. Arrian. l. 3. p. 117.

### S E C T. III.

*Manner of imbatling armies, and of engaging.*

THE manner of drawing up armies in battle, was not always alike with the antients, and could not be so, because it depends on circumstances that vary perpetually, and consequently require different dispositions. The infantry were generally posted in the centre, in one or more lines, and the horse upon the wings.

At the battle of Thymbræa, all the troops of Cræsus, as well horse as foot, were drawn up in one line thirty men deep, except the Egyptians, who amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men. They were divided into twelve large bodies or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, an hundred in front, and as many in depth. Cræsus with all his endeavours could not make them change this order, to which they were accustomed: this rendered the greatest part of those troops useless, who were the best in the army, and did not a little contribute to the loss of the battle. The Persians generally fought fourscore deep. Cyrus, to whom it was of great importance to extend his front as far as possible, in order to prevent being surrounded the enemy, reduced his files to twelve deep only. he reader knows the event of this battle.

In

Xenoph.  
hist. l. 6.  
p. 596, &c.

In the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians who had, of their own troops and their allies, four and twenty thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, were drawn up twelve deep; and the Thebans fifty, though not above six thousand foot, and four hundred horse. This seems contrary to rules. The design of Epaminondas was to fall directly with the whole weight of his heavy battalion upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, well assured, that, if he could break that, the rest of the army would be soon put to the rout: And the effect answered the design.

Vol. VI.  
p. 29, &c.  
Polyb.  
l. 17.  
p. 764, 767.  
Id. l. 12.  
p. 664.

I have described elsewhere the Macedonian phalanx, so famous amongst the antients. It was generally divided, according to Polybius, into ten battalions, each consisting of sixteen hundred men, an hundred in front, and sixteen deep. Sometimes the latter number was doubled, or reduced to eight, according to the exigency of the occasion. The same Polybius make a squadron consist of eight hundred horse, generally drawn up an hundred in front and eight in depth: he speaks of the Persian cavalry.

As to the Romans, their custom of drawing up their infantry in three lines continued long, and with uniformity enough. Amongst other examples, that of the battle of Zama between Scipio and Hannibal may suffice to give us a just idea of the manner in which the Romans and Carthaginians im-battled their troops.

Scipio placed the *Hastati* (or pikes) in the front line, leaving spaces between the cohorts. In the second he posted the *Principes*, with their cohorts not fronting the spaces of the first line, as was usual with the Romans; but behind the cohorts of the *Hastati*, leaving spaces directly opposite to those of the front line; and this because of the great number of elephants in the enemy's army, to which Scipio thought proper to leave a free passage. The

*Triarii*

*Triarii* composed the third line, and were a kind of corps de reserve. The cavalry were distributed upon the two wings; that of Italy upon the left commanded by Lælius, and the Numidians upon the right under Massinissa. Into the spaces of the first line he threw the light-arm'd troops, with orders to begin the battle; in such a manner, however, that in case they were repulsed, or not able to support the charge of the elephants, they should retire, those who ran best, behind the whole army through the direct intervals; and those who should find themselves surrounded, through such openings as might be on the right or left.

As to the other army, more than fourscore elephants covered it in front. Behind them Hannibal posted the foreign mercenaries, to the number of about twelve thousand Ligurians, Gauls, Balaarians, and Moors: behind this first line, were the Africans and Carthaginians. These were the flower of his army, with which he intended to fall upon the enemy, when fatigued and weakened by the battle: and in the third line, which he removed to the distance of more than an hundred paces from the second, were the troops he had brought with him from Italy, on whom he could not rely, because they had been forced from their country, and he did not know whether he ought to consider them as allies or enemies. On the left wing he placed the cavalry of the Numidian allies, and on the right that of the Carthaginians. *More than a stadium.*

I could wish that Polybius or Livy had informed us what number of troops there were on each side, and what depth the generals had given them in drawing them up. In the battle of Cannæ some years before this, there is no mention of the *Hastati*, *principes*, and *Triarii*, that generally composed the three lines of the Roman armies. Livy, without doubt, supposes it a custom known to all the world.

It

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

It was usual enough, especially with some nations, to raise great cries, and to strike their swords against their bucklers, as they advanced to charge an enemy. This noise, joined to that of the trumpets, was very proper to suppress in them, by a kind of stupefaction, all fear of danger, and to inspire them with a courage and boldness, that had no view but victory, and defied death.

The troops sometimes marched softly and coolly to the charge: and sometimes, when they approached the enemy, they sprung forwards with impetuosity as fast as they could move. Great men have been divided in opinion upon these different methods of attacking. On the day of the battle of Thermopylæ, Xerxes's spy found the Spartans preparing to engage only by combing their hair. Never was danger however greater. This bravado suited only soldiers determined like them to conquer or die: besides which, it was their usual custom.

Her. 1. 7.  
c. 208.

The light-armed troops generally began the action by a flight of darts, arrows, and stones, either against the elephants, if there were any, or against the horse or infantry, to put them into disorder; after which they retired through the spaces behind the first line, from whence they continued their discharges over the soldiers heads.

The Romans began a battle by throwing their javelins against the enemy, after which they came to blows with them; and it was then their valour was shewn, and great slaughter ensued.

When they had broken the enemy and put them to flight, the great danger was, as it still is, to pursue them with too much ardour, without regard to what passed in the rest of the army. We have seen that the loss of most battles proceeds from this fault, the more to be feared, as it seems the effect  
of



of valour and bravery. Lælius and Massinissa, in the battle of Zama, after having broken the enemy and put them to flight, did not abandon themselves to so imprudent an ardour; but, returning immediately from the pursuit, rejoined the main body, and falling upon Hannibal's rear, put the greatest part of his phalanx to the sword.

Lycurgus had decreed, that, after having pursued the enemy enough to secure the victory, the pursuit should cease; and that for two reasons: The first, because as the war was made between Greeks and Greeks, humanity required, that they should not act with the greatest extremity against neighbouring people, in some sort their countrymen, who professed themselves vanquished by their flight. And the second, because the enemy, relying upon this custom, would be inclined to preserve their lives by retreating, rather than persist obstinately in a battle, during which they knew they had no quarter to expect.

The attack of an army by the flanks and rear must be very advantageous, as in most battles it is generally attended with victory. Hence we see in all battles, that the principal care of the most able generals is to provide against this danger.

It is surprising, that the Romans had so few cavalry in their armies; three hundred horse to four or five thousand foot. It is true, they made an excellent use of those they had. Sometimes they dismounted and fought on foot, their horses being trained to stand still in the mean while. Sometimes they carried light-armed soldiers behind them, who got off and remounted with wonderful agility. Sometimes the horse charged the enemy on the full gallop, who could not support so violent an attack. But however all this amounted to no great service; and we have seen Hannibal indebted for his

Liv. l. 3.  
n. 62.  
Id. l. 26.  
n. 4.  
Id. l. 8.  
n. 30.

his superiority in his four first battles chiefly to his cavalry.

The Romans had made war at first upon their neighbours, whose country was woody, full of vineyards and olive-trees, and situate near the Appennine mountains, where the horse had little room to act or draw up. The neighbouring people had the same reason for not keeping much cavalry; and hence it became the custom on both sides to have little. The Roman legion was established to the number of three hundred horse, the allies furnishing twice that number; which custom in succeeding times had the force of a law:

The army of the Persians had no cavalry, when Cyrus first had the command of it. He soon perceived the want of it, and in a very short time raised a great body of horse, to which he was principally indebted for his conquest. The Romans were obliged to do the same, when they turned their arms against the East, and had to deal with nations, whose principal force consisted in cavalry. Hannibal had taught them what use they were to make of it.

Xenoph.  
Cyrop.  
l. 1. p. 29.

I do not find any mention made of hospitals for the sick and wounded in the armies of the antients. No doubt they took care of them. Homer speaks of several illustrious physicians in the army of the Greeks at the siege of Troy; and we know that they acted as surgeons. Cyrus the younger, in the army with which he marched to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, did not omit to carry with him a considerable number of able physicians. Cæsar tells us, in more than one passage of his Commentaries, that, after a battle, the wounded were carried into the nearest neighbouring city. There are many instances of generals going to visit the wounded in their tents: which is a proof, that in quarters, where seven or eight comrades, citizens of the same district

district of the same city, lay, the soldiers took care of one another, when wounded.

Livy often mentions the *Cartel*, or agreement between nations at war for the ransom of prisoners. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, having made himself master of the small camp of the Romans, agreed to restore each Roman citizen for three hundred pieces of money called *quadrigati*, which were *denarii*: that is, for about seven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres; the allies for two hundred; and the slaves for one. The Romans, when they took Eretria, a city of Eubœa, where the Mædonians had a garrison, fixed the price of their ransom at three hundred pieces of money also, that is to say, at seven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres. Hannibal, seeing the Romans were determined not to ransom their prisoners who had surrendered themselves to him, sold them to different nations. The Achæans bought a considerable number of them. When the Romans had re-established the liberty of Greece, the Achæans, out of gratitude, sent home all these prisoners, and paid their masters five *denarii* per head, that is to say, two hundred and fifty livres; the total of which, according to Polybius, amounted to an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns: for, in Achaia, there were twelve hundred of those prisoners.

I do not believe, that the use of writing in cyphers was known to the antients. It is however very necessary for conveying secret advices to officers, either remote from the army, or shut up in a city, or on other important occasions. Whilst Q. Cicero was besieged in his camp by the Gauls, Cæsar wrote him advice, that he was marching to his relief with several legions, and should soon arrive. The letter \* was written in Greek, that, if it

10 Epistolam Græcis conscriptam literis mittit, ne, intercepta epistolæ nostræ ab hostibus consiliis cognoscereantur.

fell into the enemy's hands, they might not know that Cæsar advanced. That precaution does not seem sufficiently certain; nor are signals, which I have treated of elsewhere, much more so: besides which, the use of them was very difficult, and at the same time perplexing and full of obscurity.

Plut. in  
Cornel.  
P. 217.

I shall relate a common and very remarkable custom amongst the Romans: That was, when they were drawn up in line of battle, and ready to take their shields, and gird their robes close to their bodies, to make their wills without writing, by only appointing their heir before three or four witnesses. This was terminated *testamenta in procinctu facere*.

After the little I have said upon battles, not daring to engage myself farther in a subject so much out of my sphere, I proceed to the rewards and punishments consequential of good or bad success in battle.

#### S E C T. IV.

*Punishments. Rewards. Trophies. Triumphs.*

**S**OLON had reason to say, that the two great springs of human actions, and what principally set mankind in motion, are hope and fear; and that a good government cannot subsist without rewards and punishments; because impunity imboldens guilt; and virtue, when neglected and undistinguished, frequently becomes languid and declines. This maxim is still truer, especially with regard to military government, which, as it gives greater scope to licence, requires at, that order and discipline should be annexed, it by ties of a stronger and more vigorous nature.

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It is true, this rule may be abused: and carried too far, particularly in point of punishment. With the Carthaginians; the generals, who had been unfortunate in war, were generally punished with death; as if want of success were a crime, and the most excellent captain might not lose a battle without any fault on his side. They carried their rigour much farther. \* For they condemned him to death who had taken bad measures, though successful. Amongst the † Gauls, when troops were to be raised, all the young men capable of bearing arms were obliged to be present at the assembly on a certain day. He who came last was condemned to die, and executed with the most cruel torments: What an horrid barbarity was this!

The Greeks; though very severe in supporting <sup>Bichin. in</sup> military discipline, were more humane. At Athens, <sup>Ctesiph.</sup> the refusal to bear arms, which is far more criminal than a delay of a few hours or moments; was only punished by a public interdiction, or a kind of excommunication, which excluded the person from entering the assemblies of the people; and the temples of the gods. But to throw away his shield in order to fly; to quit his post, or be a deserter, were capital crimes, and punished with death. <sup>P. 457.</sup>

At Sparta it was an inviolable law never to fly, <sup>Her. l. 7.</sup> however superior the enemy's army might be in <sup>C. 104.</sup> number; never to abandon a post, nor surrender their arms. Those who had failed in these points, were declared infamous for ever. They were not only excluded from all offices, employments, assemblies, and public shews; but it was scandalous to ally with them in marriage; and a thousand insults

\* Apud Carthaginienses in crucem tolli imperatores dicuntur, si spero eventus, pravo consilio, rem gesserunt. Liv. l. 38. n. 43.

Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli, quo lege communis puberes armati convenire coguntur; & qui ex eis novissimus sit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. Cæf. de Bell. Gal. 5.

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were offered them in public with impunity. On the contrary, great honours were paid to such as had behaved themselves valiantly in battle, or had died sword in hand in the defence of their country.

Thucyd.  
l. 2. p. 121.

Greece abounded with statues of the great men who had distinguished themselves in battles. Their tombs were adorned with magnificent inscriptions, which perpetuated their names and memories. The custom of the Athenians in this point was of wonderful efficacy to animate the courage of the citizens, and inspire them with sentiments of honour and glory. After a battle, the last duties were publicly rendered to those who had been slain. The bones of the dead were exposed for three days successively to the veneration of the people, who thronged to throw flowers upon them, and to burn incense and perfumes before them. After which, those bones were carried in pomp, in as many coffins as there were tribes in Athens, to the place particularly allotted for their interment. The whole people attended this religious ceremony. The procession had something very august and majestic in it, and rather resembled a glorious triumph, than a funeral solemnity.

Some days after, which far exceeds what I have just said, one of the best qualified Athenians pronounced the funeral oration of those illustrious dead before the whole people. The great Pericles was charged with this commission after the first campaign of the Peloponnesian war. Thucydides has preserved his discourse, and there is another upon the same subject in Plato. The intent of this funeral oration was to extol the courage of those generous soldiers who had shed their blood for their country; to inculcate the imitation of their example to the citizens, and especially to console their families. These were exhorted to moderate their  
grief

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grief by reflecting on the glory their relations had acquired for ever. " You have never, says the orator to the fathers and mothers, prayed to the gods, that your children should be exempt from the common law, which dooms all mankind to die; but only that they should prove persons of virtue and honour. Your vows are heard, and the glory with which you see them crowned, ought to dry your eyes, and change your lamentations into thanksgiving." The orators often, by a figure common enough with them, especially upon great occasions, put these lively exhortations into the mouths of the dead themselves, who seemed to quit their tombs to cheer and console their fathers and mothers.

They did not confine themselves to bare discourse and barren praises. The republic, as a tender and compassionate mother, took upon herself the charge of maintaining and subsisting the old men, widows, and orphans, who stood in need of her support. The latter were brought up suitably to their condition, till they were of age to carry arms: and then publicly, in the theatre, and in the presence of the whole people, they were dressed in a complete suit of armour, which was given them, and declared soldiers of the republic.

Was there any thing wanting to the funeral pomp I now speak of, and did it not seem in some measure to transform the poor soldiers and common burghers of Athens into heroes and conquerors? Have the honours, rendered amongst us to the most illustrious generals, any thing more animating and affecting? It was by these means that courage, greatness of soul, ardour for glory, and that zeal and devotion for their country, which rendered the Greeks insensible to the greatest dangers and death itself, were perpetuated amongst them. For, as

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Thucydides \* observes upon occasion of these funeral honours, *Great men are formed, where merit is best rewarded.*

The Romans were neither less exact in punishing offences against military discipline, nor less attentive in rewarding merit.

The punishment was proportioned to the crime, and did not always extend to death. Sometimes a word of contempt sufficed for the punishment of the troops: at others, the general punished them by refusing them their share in the spoils. Sometimes they were dismissed, and not permitted to serve against the enemy. It was common enough to make them work in the intrenchments of the camp in a single tunic and without a belt. Ignominy was often more affecting than death itself.

Dion. Cass.  
l. 42. P.  
210.

Cæsar's mutinous troops demanded to be dismissed with seditious complaints. † Cæsar said only one word to them; which was *Quirites*, as much as to say, citizens, whereas he used to call them *Fellow-soldiers* or *comrades*; and immediately discharged them. That word was like a stroke of thunder to them. They believed themselves degraded and entirely dishonoured, and never ceased importuning him in the most humble and pathetic terms, till he consented, as the greatest of favours, that they should continue to carry arms for him. This punishment, whereby the soldiers were broken, was called *exaultoratio*.

Liv. l. 3.  
p. 29.

The Roman army, through the fault of the consul Minucius, who commanded it, was besieged in their camp by the *Æqui*, and very near being taken. Cincinnatus, appointed dictator for this expedition,

\* Ἄλλα γὰρ εἰς αἰῶνα ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνδρὶς ἀρετῆς ἀποδεικνύσιν.

† Divus Julius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compevit, *Quirites* vocando qui sacramentum ejus detestabant. Tacit. *Annal.* l. 1. c. 41.

marched



marched to his aid, delivered him, and made himself master of the enemy's camp, which abounded with riches. He punished the consul's troops by giving them no share of the booty, and obliged Minucius to quit the consulship, and to serve in the army as his lieutenant, which he did without complaint or murmur: " \* In those times, observes the historian, people submitted with so much complacency to the persons in whom they saw a superiority of merit joined with authority, that this army, more sensible of the benefit, than ignominy they had received, decreed the dictator a crown of gold of a pound weight, and on his departure saluted him their patron and beneficer."

After the battle of Cannæ, wherein more than Liv. l. 22. n. 50—60. forty thousand Romans were left upon the spot, about seven thousand soldiers, who were in the two camps, seeing themselves without resource or hope, surrendered themselves and their arms to the enemy, and were made prisoners. Ten thousand, who had fled as well as Vatro, escaped by different ways, and at length rejoined each other at Canusium under the consul. Whatever instances these prisoners and their relations could make afterwards to obtain their ransom, and how great soever the want of soldiers then was at Rome, the senate could never resolve to redeem soldiers who had been so base as to surrender themselves to the enemy, and whom more than forty thousand men, killed before their eyes, could, not inspire with the courage to die in the field for their country. The other ten thousand, who had Liv. l. 23. n. 25. escaped by flight, were banished into Sicily, and their return prohibited as long as the war with the Cartha-

\* Aded tam imperio meliori animus manifestè obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominie hic exercitus memor & coronam auream dictatori libe pondo decreverit, & proficentem eum, patroquum salutaverit. *Liv.*

ginians should continue. They demanded with earnest intreaties to be led on against the enemy, and that they might have an opportunity to expiate with their blood the ignominy of their flight. The senate remained inflexible, not believing that they could confide the defence of the republic to soldiers, who had abandoned their companions in battle. At length, upon the remonstrances and warm solicitations of the proconsul Marcellus, their demand was granted; but upon condition, that they should not set foot in Italy as long as the enemy should remain in it. All the knights of the army of Cannæ, banished into Sicily, were also severely punished. In the first review made by the censors after that battle, all the horses with which the republic furnished them, were taken away; which implied their being degraded from the rank of Roman knights; their former years of service were declared void, and that they should be obliged to serve ten more, supplying themselves with horses; that is to say, as many years as if they had never served at all: for the knights were not obliged to serve more than ten campaigns.

Liv. l. 27.  
B. 12.

Liv. l. 22.  
n. 5.  
l. 24. n.  
34—16.

The senate, rather than ransom the prisoners, which would have cost less, chose to arm eight thousand slaves; to whom they promised liberty, if they behaved themselves valiantly. They had served almost two years with great bravery; their liberty however was not yet arrived, and, with whatever ardour they desired it, they chose rather to deserve than to demand it. An important occasion arose, in which it was pointed out to them as the reward of their valour. They did wonders in the battle, except four thousand of them, who discovered some timidity. After the battle, they were all declared free. Their joy was incredible.

• Jam alterum annum libertatem tacite mereri, quam postulare posui maluerunt. Liv.

Gracchus,

Gracchus, under whose command they were, told them : *Before I make you all equal by the title of liberty, I would not willingly have made a difference between the valiant and the timorous. It is however but just that I should do so.* He then made all those, who had not done their duty as well as the rest, promise upon oath, that, as long as they served, as a punishment for their fault, they should always stand at their meals, except when hindered by sickness : which was accepted and executed with entire submission. This, of all the military punishments, was the lightest and most gentle.

The punishments I have hitherto related scarce affected any thing besides the soldier's honour : there were others which extended to his life.

One of the latter was called *Fustuarium*,\* the bastinado. It was executed thus : The tribune, taking a stick, only touched the criminal with it, and, immediately after, all the soldiers of the legion fell on him with sticks and stones, so that he generally lost his life in this punishment. If any one escaped, he was not thereby entirely discharged. His return into his own country was eternally prohibited, and not one of his relations durst open his door to him. They punished a centinel in this manner, who had quitted his post ; from whence may be judged the exact discipline they observed in respect to the guard by night, on which the safety and preservation of the whole army depended : all those who abandoned their posts, whether officers or soldiers, were treated in the same manner. † Vel- leius Paternulus cites an example of this punish-

\* Si Antonius consul, fustuarium meruerant legiones, hunc consulem reliquerunt. *Cic. Philip.* 3. c. 14.

† Calvinus Domitius cum ex consulatu obtineret Hispaniam, gravissimi comparandique antiquis exempli tantum auctor fuit. Quippe primipili centurionem, nomine Vibillum, ob turpem ex acie jam, fuisse percussit. *Paterc.* l. 2. c. 78.

ment, executed upon one of the principal officers of a legion, for having shamefully taken to flight in a battle: this was in the time of Antony and young Octavius. But, what appears more astonishing, those were condemned to the same punishment who stole in the camp. The reader may remember the oath taken by the soldiers upon their entering it.

When a whole legion or cohort were guilty, as it was not possible to put all that were criminal to death, they were decimated by lot, and he, whose name was drawn the tenth, was executed. In this manner, fear seized all, though few were punished. Others were sentenced to receive barley instead of wheat, and to incamp without the intrenchments at the hazard of being attacked by the enemy. Livy has an example of a decimation as early as the infancy of the republic. Crassus, when he put himself at the head of the legions, who had suffered themselves to be defeated by Spartacus, revived the antient custom of the Romans, which had been disused for several ages, of decimating the soldiers when they had failed in their duty; and that punishment had a very happy effect. This kind of death, says Plutarch, is attended with great ignominy; and, as it was executed before the whole army, it diffused terror and horror throughout the camp.

Decimation became very common under the emperors, especially in regard to the Christians, whose refusal to adore idols, or persecute believers, was considered and punished as a sacrilegious revolt. The Theban legion was treated in this manner under Maximilian. That emperor caused it to be decimated three times successively, without being able to overcome the pious resistance of those generous soldiers. Mauritius, their commander, in concert with all the other officers, wrote a very short

Liv. l. 2.  
p. 59.  
Plut. in  
Crass.  
p. 584.

Ex. epist.  
S. Eucher.  
nil Lugd.  
ad Sylv.  
Episc.

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Short, but admirable letter to the emperor. \* *We are your soldiers, emperor, but the servants of God. We owe you our service, but him our innocence. We cannot renounce God, to obey you; that God, who is our creator and master, and your's also, whether you will or no.* All the rest of the legion were put to death, without making the least resistance, and went to join the legions of angels, and to praise the God of armies with them for evermore.

These capital punishments were not frequent in the time of the republic. † It was a capital crime, as we have said, to quit a post, or fight without orders: and the example of fathers, who had not spared their own sons, inspired a just terror, which prevented faults, and occasioned the rules of military discipline to be respected. There is in these bloody executions a severity shocking to nature, and which, however, we could not venture absolutely to condemn; because, if every great public example has something of injustice in it, on the other side, whatever of that kind is contrary to the interest of particulars, is compensated by the utility which redounds to the public from it.

A general is sometimes obliged to treat his soldiers with great rigour, in order to put a stop, by timely severities, either to a revolt just forming; or an open violation of discipline. He would at such times be cruel if he acted with gentleness, and would resemble the surgeon, who, out of a false compassion, should chuse rather to let the whole body perish, than cut off a mortified member.

\* *Milites sumus, imperator, tui, sed tamen servi Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. Te qui imperatorem in hoc nequaquam possumus, ut auctorem negemus; Deum auctorem nostrum. Deum auctorem, velis nolis, tuum.*

† *Præsidio decedere apud Romanos capitale esse, & nece liberorum et suorum eam legem parentes sanxisse. Liv. l. 24. n. 37.*

*Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra regulos, utilitate publica penditur. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 44.*

What

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

Liv. l. 8.  
n. 36.

Liv. l. 8.  
p. 36.

What is to be avoided, on these occasions, is to seem to act from passion or hatred : \* for then the remedies, improperly applied, would only aggravate the disease. This happened in the first example of decimation I cited, by which Appius had made himself so extremely odious to the soldiers, that they chose rather to suffer themselves to be beaten by the enemy, than to conquer with him and for him. He was of an obstinate disposition, and inflexibly rigid. Papirius, long after, acted much more wisely in a case not unlike this. † His soldiers, expressly to mortify him, retreated in battle, and deprived him of a victory. He perceived, like an able captain, the cause of that behaviour, and found it necessary to moderate his severity, and soften his too imperious humour. He did so, and succeeded so well, that he entirely regained the affection of his troops. A complete victory was the consequence. Much art and prudence are requisite in punishing with success.

It was rather by the views of reward and sense of honour that the Romans engaged their troops to do their duty. After the taking of a town, or gaining a battle, the general usually gave the booty to the soldiers, but with admirable order, as Polybius informs us, in his relation of his taking of Carthage: It is, says he, an established custom amongst the Romans, upon the signal given by the generals, to disperse themselves in order to plunder the city that has been taken : after which every one carries the booty he has gotten to his own legion. When the whole has been sold by auction, the tribunes divide the money into equal shares, which are given not only to those who are

\* Intempestivis remediis delicta accendebatur. Tacit.

† Cessatum à milite, ac de industria, ut obtrectaretur de laudibus ducis, impedita victoria est—Sensit peritus dux quæ res victoriæ obstaret: temperandum ingenium suum esse, & severitatem miscendam cunctate. Liv.

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in other posts, but to them who have been left to guard the camp, the sick, and such as have been detached upon any occasion. And, to prevent any injustice from being committed in this part of the war, the soldiers are made to swear before they take the field, and the first day they assemble, that they will not secrete any part of the booty, but faithfully bring in whatever they shall make. What a love of order, observance of discipline, and regard for justice does this argue, amidst the tumult of arms, and the very ardour of victory!

Upon the day of triumph, the general made another distribution of money in greater or less proportions, according to the different times of the republic; but always moderate enough before the civil wars.

Honour was sometimes annexed to advantage, <sup>Liv. l. 7. n. 37.</sup> and the soldier was much more sensible of the one than the other, and how much more the officers! P. Decius the tribune, with a detachment which he conducted, at the hazard of his life, upon the brink of an eminence, had saved the whole army by one of the noblest actions mentioned in history. Upon his return, the consul, in the presence of all the troops, bestowed the highest praises upon him, and besides many other military presents, gave him a crown of gold, and an hundred oxen, to which he added another ox of extraordinary size and beauty, with gilt horns. He decreed the soldiers, who had accompanied the tribune, a double portion of corn during the whole time they should serve, and, for the present, two oxen and two complete dresses a man. The legions also, to express their gratitude, presented Decius with a crown of turf, which was the sign of a siege raised; and his own soldiers did the same. He sacrificed the ox with the gilt horns to Mars, and gave the other hundred to his soldiers: the legions also rewarded each of them with a pound of flour, and a gallon of wine.

Cal-

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De Bell.  
Civ. l. 3.

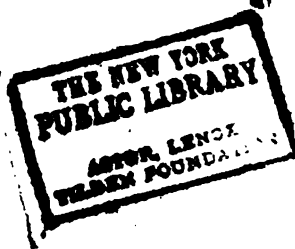
of the valour with which Q. Cicero, the famous orator's brother, had defended his camp against the great army of the Gauls, extolled publicly the greatness of the action, praised the legion in general, and apostrophised particularly to those of the centurions and tribunes, who, as Cicero had observed to him, distinguished themselves most. Upon another occasion, Scæva, a centurion, had contributed very much to the defence of a breach of great importance. When his buckler was brought to Cæsar with two hundred and thirty arrow-shots through it; surprised and charmed with his bravery, he immediately made him a present of two hundred thousand sesterces, (about twelve hundred pounds) and raised him directly from the eighth to the first rank of the centurions, appointing him Primipilus, a very honourable post, as I have observed elsewhere, and which had no superior but the tribunes, lieutenant-generals, and commanders in chief.

Nothing was equal to this latter method of rewarding, for inspiring the troops with valour. By a wise establishment, there were many degrees of honour and distinction in a legion, of which none were granted upon account of birth, or bought for money. Merit was the only means of attaining them, at least it was the most ordinary method. Whatever distance there was between the private centinel, and the consular dignity, the door lay open to it: it was a beaten path, and there were many examples of citizens, who, from one degree to another, at length attained that supreme dignity. With what ardour must such a sight inspire the troops! Men are capable of every thing when properly excited by the motives of honour and glory.

It remains for me to say something upon trophies and triumphs.

Trophies,







LEONARD  
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Trophy of the Ancients.

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Trophies, amongst the antients, were originally a heap of arms and spoils taken from enemies; and erected by the victor in the field of battle, of which, in after-times representations were made in stone and brass. They never failed, immediately after a victory, to raise a trophy, which was looked upon as a sacred thing, because always an offering to some divinity: for which reason none presumed to throw it down. Neither, when it fell through age, was it permitted to erect it again; for which Plutarch gives a fine reason, that argues great humanity in the sentiments of the antients. *To re-  
state, says he, and set up again the monuments of  
ancient differences with enemies, which time has conve-  
niently demolished, has something odious in it, seems to  
argue a desire to perpetuate enmity.*

Plut. in  
Quest.  
Rom. p.  
272.

We do not observe the same humanity in the Roman triumphs, of which I am still to speak. The generals, as well as the officers and soldiers, had also rewards in view. The title of *Imperator* granted after a victory, and the supplications, that is to say, the public processions, sacrifices, and prayers, decreed at Rome for a certain number of days, to thank the gods for the success of their arms, agreeably flattered their ambition. But the triumph exceeded every thing. There were two sorts of it, the less and the greater.

The less triumph was called *Ovatio*. In that the general was neither seated on a chariot, dressed in triumphal robes, nor crowned with laurel. He entered the city on foot, or, according to some, on horseback, crowned with myrtle, and followed by his army. This kind of triumph was granted only, either when the war had not been declared, had been with a people little considerable, or not ended with any great defeat of the enemy.

A triumph could properly be granted only to a dictator, a consul, or a prætor, who had com-  
manded

pl. I.

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## OF THE ART MILITARY.

manded in chief. The senate decreed this honour after which the affair was deliberated upon in assembly of the people, where it often met with great difficulties. Several however triumphed without the senate's concurrence, provided the people had decreed them that honour. But if they could not obtain it from either the one or the other order, they went and triumphed upon the Alban mountain, in the neighbourhood of the city. Livy said, that to obtain this honour, it was necessary to have killed five thousand enemies in battle.

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 8.

After the general had distributed part of the spoils to the soldiers, and performed some ceremonies, the procession began, and entered the city through the triumphal port to ascend to the capitol. At the head of it were the players upon musical instruments, who made the air resound with their harmony. They were followed by the beasts that were to be sacrificed, adorned with fillets and flowers, many of them having their horns gilded. After them came the whole booty, and all the spoils, either displayed upon carriages, or borne upon the shoulders of young men in magnificent habits. The names of the nations conquered were written in great characters, and the cities, that had been taken, represented. Sometimes they added to the pomp extraordinary animals, brought from the countries subjected, as bears, panthers, lions, and elephants. But what most attracted the attention and curiosity of the spectators, were the illustrious captives, who walked in chains before the victor's chariot; great officers of state, generals of armies, princes, kings with their wives and children. The consul followed (supposing the general to be so) mounted upon a superb chariot, drawn by four horses, and robed with the august and magnificent habit of triumph, his head incircled with a crown of laurel, holding also a branch



# TRIUMPH.



15. Coined Med w. laurel, 31. Relations of General who Triumphs.  
 16. Vessels of Incense & perfumes 32. The Domesticks & Train of his Victor.  
 17. Trumpets & Sanguished, & other Commanders of the Army.  
 18. Victims of Lute & Lyre. 34. The Army of his Roman People  
 19. Ministers of his Triumphal divided into Legions, Cohorts,  
 20. Elephants &c. 35. The Crowd of Citizens.  
 21. Soldiers of the Pontiers upon Elite Centuries, and maniples.  
 22. Relations.

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the same tree in his hand ; and sometimes accompanied with his young children sitting by him. Behind the chariot marched the whole army, the cavalry first, then the infantry. All the soldiers were crowned with laurel, and those who had received particular crowns, and other marks of honour, did not fail to shew them on so great a solemnity. They emulated each other in celebrating the praises of their general, and sometimes threw in expressions, sufficiently offensive, of raillery and satire against him, which favoured of the military freedom ; but the joy of the ceremony entirely blunted their edge, and abated their bitterness.

As soon as the consul turned from the forum towards the capitol, the prisoners were carried to prison ; where they were either immediately put to death, or often kept in confinement for the rest of their lives. Upon his entrance into the capitol, the victor made this very remarkable prayer to the god : *\* Filled with gratitude and joy, I return you thanks, O most good and most great Jupiter, and you queen Juno, and all the other gods, the guardians and inhabitants of this citadel, that to this day and hour you have vouchsafed by my hands to preserve and guide the Roman republic happily. Continue always, I implore you, to preserve, guide, protect, and favour it in all things.* This prayer was followed by sacrificing the victims, and a magnificent feast, given in the capitol, sometimes by the public, and sometimes by the person himself who triumphed. The reader may see in Plutarch the long and fine description he gives of the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

It must be allowed, that this was a glorious day for a general of an army ; and it is not surprising

\* *Gratias tibi, Jupiter optume, maxime ; tibi que Junoni reginæ, & cæteris hujus custodibus habitatoribusque arcis diis lubens erusque agò, re Romana in hanc diem & horam, per manus quod oluisti, servata, benè gesta que. Eandem & servate, ut facitis, fovete, protegitis, propitiati, supplex oro. Ex Regini Antiq. Rom.*

that all possible endeavours should be used to deserve so grateful a distinction, and so splendid an honour. Nor had Rome any thing more magnificent and majestic than this pompous ceremony. But the sight of captives, the mournful objects of compassion, if those victors had been capable of any, obscured and effaced all its lustre. What inhuman pleasure! What barbarous joy! To see princes, kings, princesses, queens, tender infants, and feeble old men, dragged before them! We may remember the dissembled marks of friendship, the false promises, the treacherous caresses of young Cæsar, called afterwards Augustus, in regard to Cleopatra, solely with the view of inducing that princess to suffer herself to be carried to Rome, that is to say, to adorn his triumph, and gratify him in the cruel satisfaction of seeing the most potent queen in the world prostrate at his feet, in the most depressed and forlorn condition it were possible to imagine. But she well knew the snare. Such a conduct and such sentiments, in my opinion, dishonour human nature.

In relating the rewards granted by the Romans to the soldiery, I have omitted a very important circumstance, I mean the establishment of colonies. When the Romans first carried their arms, and extended their conquests out of Italy, they punished the people, who resisted them with too much obstinacy by depriving them of part of their lands, which they granted to such of the Roman citizens as were poor, and especially to the veteran soldiers, who had served their full proportion of time in the army. By this means the latter saw themselves settled in tranquillity with a comfortable income, sufficient for the support of their families. They became by degrees the most considerable persons in the cities to which they were sent, and obtained the first posts, and principal dignities in the  
Rome



Rome by these settlements, which were the result of a wise and profound policy, besides rewarding her soldiers advantageously, kept the conquered nations in subjection by their means, formed them to the Roman manners and customs, and by degrees made them forget their own usages and dispositions, to embrace those of their victors. France has established a new kind of military reward, which merits a place here.

## S E C T. V.

*Establishment of the royal hospital of Invalids at Paris.*

WE do not find, either amongst the Greeks or Romans, or any other people, any public foundations, for the relief of the soldiery, whom either long fatigues or wounds had made incapable of service. It was reserved for Lewis XIV. to set other princes that example, which England soon began to imitate; and we may say, that amongst an infinite number of great actions which have rendered his reign illustrious, nothing equals the glorious foundation of the *Hôtel royal des Invalides*.

There has been lately published a book upon the royal hospital of invalids, which answers, in some measure, the magnificence of that foundation, in the beauty and number of its plates and ornaments. In this book, all that regards the revenues, expences, buildings, discipline, and government, temporal and spiritual, of that house, are circumstantially explained. We are obliged to persons, who take pains to preserve and transmit in this manner to posterity an exact knowledge of facts so worthy of remembrance. For my part, my intent is only to give a brief idea of them.

Every thing in this structure denotes the grandeur and magnificence of its august founder. We

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The pomp and magnificence of this temple are justly admired. But another object presents itself to our view at whatever hour of the day we enter it, a sight far more worthy of admiration, and which cannot be looked upon without tears in our eyes: antient warriors maimed, crippled, without legs, arms, eyes, humbly prostrating themselves before the God of armies, whose majesty they adore with the most profound resignation; to whom they pay continual thanksgivings for having delivered them out of so many dangers, and especially for having taken them from the gates of hell; to whom, filled with the most lively sense of gratitude, they incessantly lift up their hands and voices, to say: Be mindful, O Lord, of the prince who has opened this thy sacred asylum for us, and be merciful to him for the mercy which he hath shewn to us thy servants.

CHAR-

CHAPTER II.  
OF SIEGES.

THE antients distinguished themselves no less by the art of forming and sustaining sieges, than by that of making war in the field. It is agreed by all, that they carried these two parts of military knowledge to a very high degree of perfection, which it is difficult for the moderns to exceed. The use of muskets, bombs, cannons, and other fire-arms, since the invention of powder, has occasioned the alteration of many things in the manner of making war, especially in sieges, the duration of which has been very much abridged by their means. But these changes have not been so considerable as generally imagined, and have added nothing either to the merit or capacity of generals.

To treat what relates to sieges with some order, I shall premise something upon the manner in which the fortifications of the antients were formed; and shall then give some general idea of the principal machines of war used by them in sieges; and conclude with the attack and defence of places. The Chevalier Follard has treated these several articles very extensively in the second and third volumes of his remarks upon Polybius, and has been my guide in a subject that required the direction of an able and experienced soldier.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of antient fortifications.*

**H**OW far soever we look back into antiquity, we find amongst the Greeks and Romans, cities fortified almost in the same manner with their fosses, courtines, and towers. Vitruvius in treating of the construction of places of war in his time, says, that the towers ought to project beyond the wall, in order that when the enemy approaches, the defenders upon the right and left may take them in flank: and that they ought to be round, and faced with many stones, because such as are square are soon beat down by the machines of war and battering-rams, which easily break their angles. He adds after some remarks, that near the towers the wall should be cut within-side the breadth of the tower, and that the ways broken in this manner should only be joined and continued by beams laid upon the two extremities, without being made fast with iron, that in case the enemy should make himself master of any part of the wall, the besieged might remove this wooden bridge, and thereby prevent his passage to the other parts of the wall and into the towers.

The best towns of the antients were situated upon eminencies. They inclosed them sometimes within two or three walls and fosses. Berosus, cited by Josephus, informs us, that Nebuchadonosor fortified Babylon with a triple inclosure of brick walls of a surprising strength and height. Polybius, speaking of Syringa, the capital of Hyrcania, which Antiochus besieged, says, that city was surrounded with three fosses, each forty-five feet broad, and twenty-two deep; upon each side of these was a double

a double intrenchment, and, behind all, a strong wall. The city of Jerusalem, says Josephus, was surrounded by a triple wall, except on the side of the vallies, where there was but one, because they were inaccessible. To these they had added many other works, one of which, says Josephus, had it been compleated, would have rendered the city impregnable. The stones, of which it was built, were thirty feet long by fifteen broad, which made it so strong, that it was in a manner impossible to sap or shake it with machines. The whole was flanked with towers from space to space of extraordinary solidity, and built with wonderful art.

The antients did not generally support their walls on the inside with earth, in the manner of the Talus or slope, which made the attacks more dangerous. For though the enemy had gained some footing upon them, he could not assure himself of taking the city. It was necessary to get down, and to make use of part of the ladders by which he had mounted; and that descent exposed the soldier to very great danger. Vitruvius however observes, that there is nothing renders a rampart so strong as when the walls both of the courtine and towers are supported by earth. For then neither rams, mines, nor any other machines, can shake them.

The places of war of the antients were not always fortified with stone walls. They were sometimes inclosed within good ramparts of earth of great firmness and solidity. The manner of coating them with turf was not unknown to them, nor the art of supporting the earth with strong fascines made fast by stakes, and of arming the top of the rampart with a ruff or fraise of palisades, and the foot of the parapet or pas de souris with another: they often planted palisades also in the fosse to defend themselves against sudden attacks,

They

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They made walls also with beams crossed over one another, with spaces between them in the manner of a chequer, the void parts of which they filled up with earth and stones. Such almost were the walls of the city of Bourges, described by Cæsar in his seventh book of the war with the Gauls.

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## P L A T E XI. explained.

*Profile and elevation of the walls of the antients.*

**T**HE lower part of this plate is a side-view, or profile of the walls, towers, and fosse of the antient fortifications, as described in the text according to Vitruvius.

A. The wall or courtine.

B. The towers. These were situated at the distance of an arrow-shot from each other, for the better annoying the besiegers upon attacks.

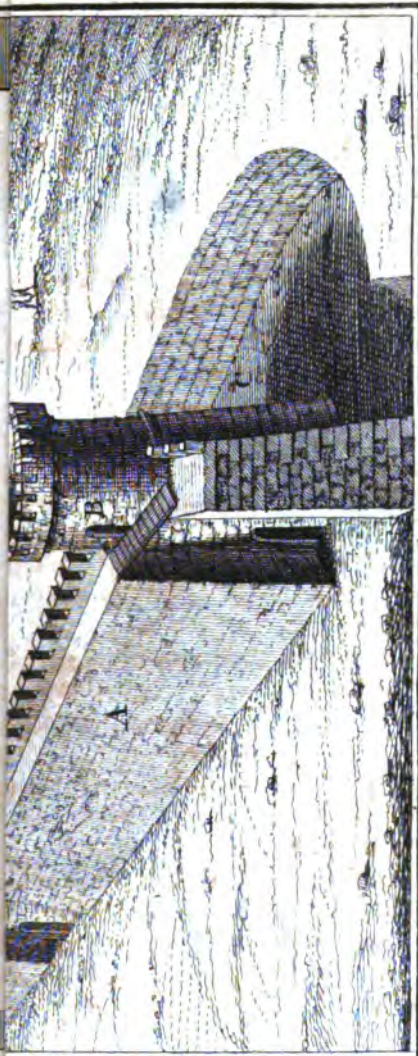
C. The fosse.

The materials of these works differed; all places not affording the same kinds, and the best they produced being the rule for the use of them.

The plan and profile of the walls of Bourges, on the upper part of this plate, is an example of these materials and the manner of using them.

Cæsar describes them thus: " The walls of  
" Bourges, and almost those of the country, were  
" made of pieces of wood forty feet in length F,  
" laid along the earth at the distance of two feet  
" from each other, and crossed over by others of  
" equal length and at equal distance with their  
" ends to the front of the wall G. The spaces on  
" the inside H were filled up with earth and fasci-  
" cines, and on the outside with solid stones I, in  
" which

Plan and Profile of the Walls of Bourges



Profile and Elevations of the Walls of the Ancients

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“ which manner the work was carried to the top ;  
“ the stone-work upon the ends, and in the spaces  
“ of the wood, and the ends of the wood, &c. upon  
“ the stone-work, as in the figures NM.” He  
adds, “ that the work by this disposition was agree-  
“ able to the eye, and very strong; because the  
“ wood was of great force against the ram, and  
“ the stones against fire: besides which, the thick-  
“ ness of the wall, which was generally forty feet,  
“ or the length of the beams, made it next to im-  
“ possible either to make a breach in it, or throw  
“ it down in any manner.”

---

What I shall say in the sequel, when I come to explain the manner of attacking and defending places, will shew more distinctly what kind of fortifications those of the antients were. It is pretended that the moderns excel them very much in this point. The thing is not so indisputable but it may be called in question; though no comparison can be made between them; because their manner of attacking and defending is entirely different. The moderns have retained all they could after the antients. Fire-arms have obliged them to use other precautions. The same genius is evident in both. The moderns have imagined nothing, that the antients could use, and have not used. We have borrowed from them the breadth and depth of fosses, the thickness of walls, the towers to flank the courtines, the palisades, the intrenchments within the ramparts and towers, the advantage of many flanks, in multiplying of which only modern fortification consists; this fire-arms make the more easy to execute. I have heard these remarks made by very able and experienced persons, who, with a profound knowledge of the manner in which the antients made war, unite a perfect experience of the modern practice of it.

## ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE II.

*Of the machines of war.*

**T**HE machines, most used and best known amongst the antients for besieging places, were the tortoise, the catapulta, the balista, the corvus or crane, the ram, and moving towers.

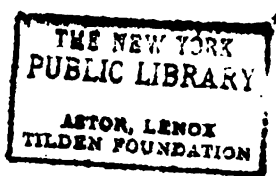
## S E C T. I.

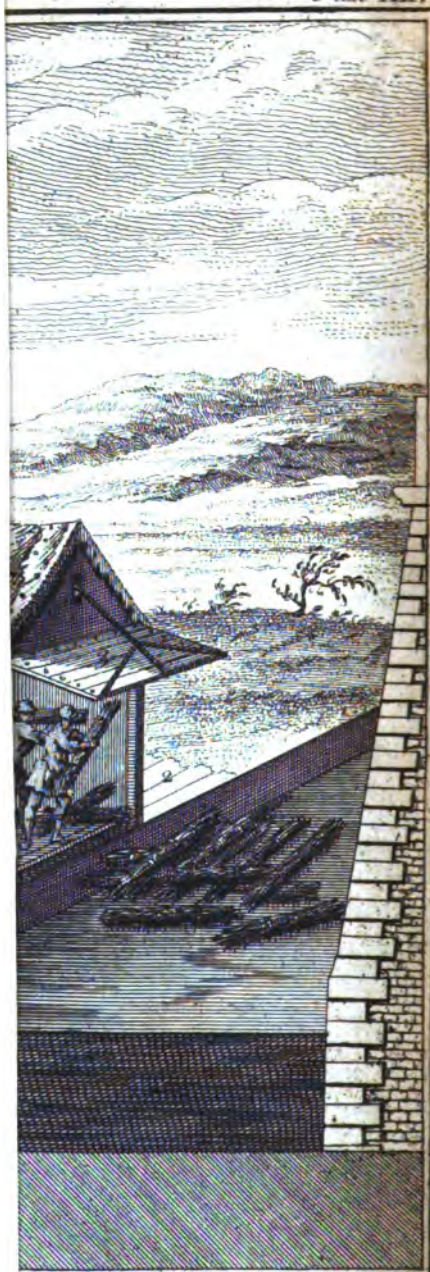
*The tortoise.*

**T**HE tortoise was a machine composed of very strong and solid timber-work. The height of it to its highest beam, which sustained the roof, was twelve feet. The base was square, and each of its fronts twenty five feet. It was covered with a kind of quilted mattress made of raw hides, and prepared with different drugs to prevent its being set on fire by combustibles. This heavy machine was supported upon four wheels, or perhaps upon eight. It was called tortoise, from its serving as a very strong covering and defence, against the enormous weight thrown down on it; those under it being safe in the same manner as a tortoise under his shell. It was used both to fill up the fosse, and for sapping.

For the filling up of the fosse, it was necessary to join several of them together in a line and very near one another. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the siege of Halicarnassus by Alexander the Great, says, that he first caused three tortoises to approach, in order to fill up the ditch, and that afterwards he planted his rams upon the space filled up, to batter the wall. This machine is often mentioned by authors. There were, without doubt, tortoises of different forms and sizes.

P L A T T





W. H. Fens Sculp.

a fortified place.

## P L A T E XII. explained.

*Tortoise for filling up the fosse of a besieged place.*

**T**HIS machine is distinctly enough described in the text : however, it may not be improper to add, that it is believed so enormous a weight could not be moved from place to place on wheels, and that it was pushed forwards on rollers. Under these wheels or rollers the way was laid with strong planks (2) to facilitate its motion, and prevent its sinking into the ground, from whence it would have been very difficult to have removed it. The ancients have observed, that the roof had a thicker covering of hides, hurdles, sea-weed, &c. than the sides, as it was exposed to much greater shocks, from the weight thrown upon it by the besieged. It had a door in front (3), which was drawn up by a chain as far as was necessary, and covered the soldiers at work in filling up the fosse with fascines.

---

The machine, called *Musculus*, used by Cæsar in the siege of Marseilles, was believed to be also a tortoise, but very low, and of a great length: it would be called in these days a wooden gallery. It is likely that its length was equal to the breadth of the fosse. Cæsar caused it to be pushed on to the foot of the walls, in order to demolish them by sap. Cæsar however often distinguishes the tortoise from the *Musculus*.

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

### PLATE XIII. explained.

*Cæsar's Musculus, or wooden gallery, at the siege of  
Marseilles.*

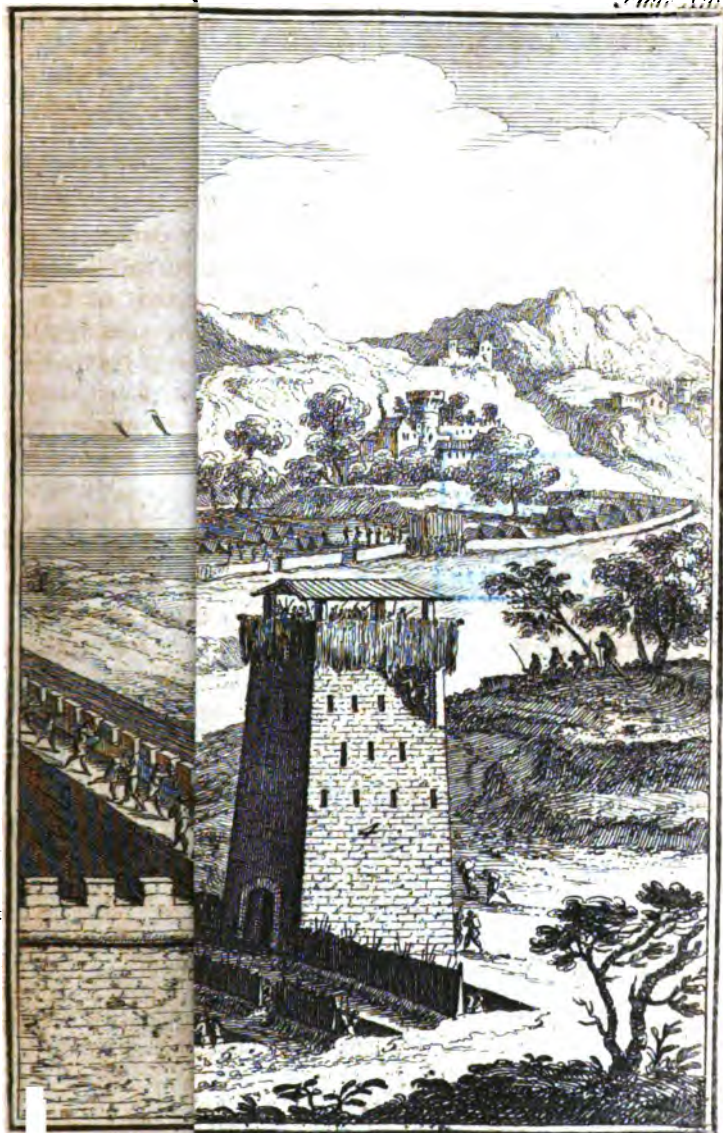
**T**HE Musculus, though very little understood by modern authors, who have represented it variously, was undoubtedly a kind of tortoise, very low, and with a sharp roof. Such was that of Cæsar at the siege of Marseilles as in the plate (2). It was sixty feet in length, and was moved forwards to the walls upon rollers, where it was fixed over the part of the ditch filled up (3). The tower of brick (4), which he built there, communicated with this musculus and the trenches (5).

Cæsar says the planks of the roof were covered with bricks and mortar, over which hides were laid to prevent the mortar from dissolving by the water, which the besieged might pour down upon it; and, to secure it from stones and fire, it was again covered over with thick quilted mattresses properly prepared: all this was done under mantles (*vincis*) after which it was thrust forwards on a sudden from the tower to the walls.

Besides this, there was another kind of musculus, that was used for levelling the ground, and laying the planks, on which the tortoises and moving towers were to advance to the fosse; they were, like this, of greater length than breadth, and equal in breadth to the way they were to level.

PLATE

*Plate VIII*



*reilles*

*W. H. Toms Sculp.*

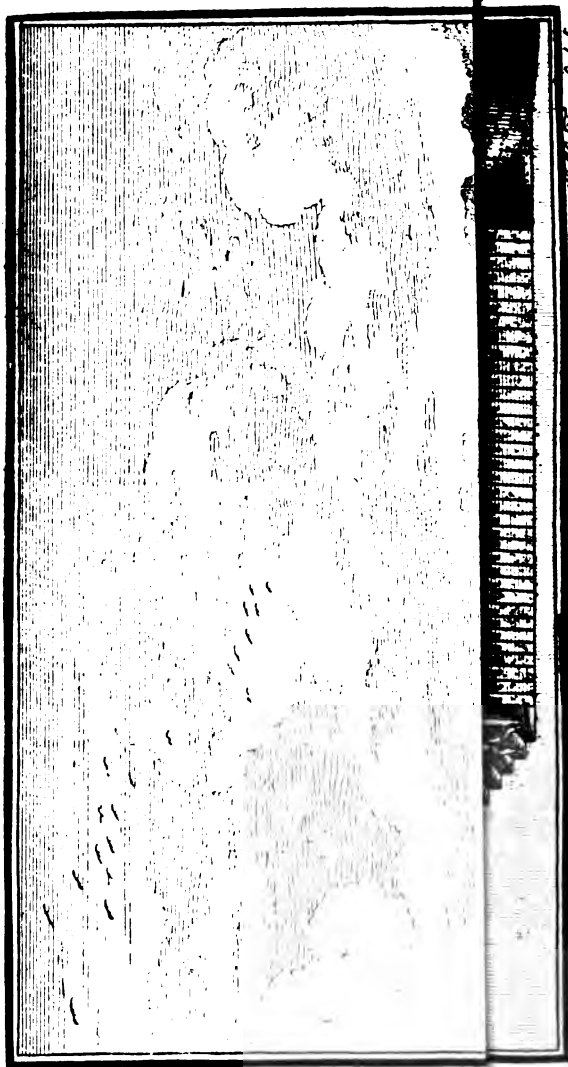
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Plate XIV.



W. M. Stone Relief?

Descent and Pyrage of the Tablets by the Ancients.

## P L A T E XIV. explained.

*Descent and passage of the fosses by the antients.*

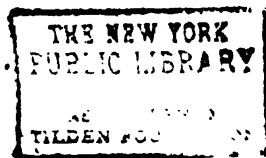
**T**HE manner, in which the antients filled up the fosses of besieged places, differed little from that of the moderns: for, except the tortoise and musculus, which the invention of artillery has occasioned the latter to abandon, there is nothing practised now, that was not in use amongst the antients. What they called tortoises of earth were only trenches cut in the earth, and blinded at top in form of a gallery, from the last line covered with hurdles or fascines interwoven to the edge of the fosse. It appears from history, that they had another method, when the fosse was dry. They opened a subterraneous gallery or mine (2) into the fosse, which they entered through an opening in the counterscarp, where they erected a musculus, or wooden gallery (3) of the whole breadth of the fosse. Under this machine they worked at sapping the wall.

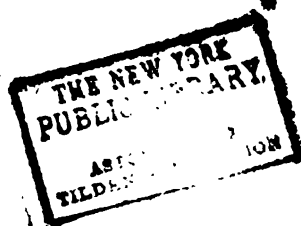
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There were also several other machines intended to cover the soldiers, called *crates*, *plutei*, *vineæ*, &c. that were used in sieges, which I shall not undertake to describe here, to avoid prolixity. They may be comprised in general under the name of mantles, or *sbeds*.

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ed G, of his own invention, would be of more service in opening the trenches nearest to a besieged place. He says the fascines should be of osiers, and five or six inches thick, and the height of the machine four or five feet by six long. The soldiers may easily push it before them, and cover themselves behind it whilst they work. The wheels he adds would make some noise, but that signifies little, whilst it covers the workmen from the fire of the place.

---

Besides the tortoise, the wooden machine I have been speaking of, there was another composed of soldiers, which may be ranked in the number of machines of war. A body of soldiers, drawn up together, put their great shields, in the form of gutter-tiles, close to each other over their heads. Well practised in this exercise, they formed so firm a roof, that, whatever efforts the besieged might make, they could neither break nor move them. Upon this first tortoise of soldiers, a second was made to mount; and by this means they sometimes rose to an equal height with the walls of the place besieged.

## S E C T. II.

*Catapultæ. Balistæ.*

**I** Join these two machines together, though authors distinguish them: but they also often confound them, and it would be difficult to settle exactly the difference. They were both intended for discharging darts, arrows, and stones. They were of different sizes, and consequently produced more or less effect. Some were used in battles, and might be called field-pieces; others were employed in sieges, which was the use most commonly made of them. The balistæ must have been the heaviest and most difficult to carry; because there was always a greater number of the catapultæ in the armies. Livy, in his description of the siege of Carthage, says, that there were an hundred and twenty great, and more than two hundred small catapultæ taken, with thirty-three great balistæ, and fifty-two small ones. Josephus mentions the same difference amongst the Romans, who had three hundred catapultæ, and forty balistæ, at the siege of Jerusalem.

These machines had a force which it is not easy to comprehend, but which all good authors attest.

Vegetius says, that the balista discharged darts with such rapidity and violence, that nothing could resist their force. Athenæus tells us, that Agesistratus made one of little more than two feet in length, which shot darts almost five hundred paces. These machines were not unlike our cross-bows. There were others of much greater force, which threw stones of  
three



three hundred weight, upwards of an hundred and twenty-five paces.

We find surprising effects of these machines in Josephus: "The darts and force of the catapultæ destroyed abundance of people. The stones from the machines beat down the battlements, and broke the angles of the towers. There was no phalanx so deep but one of these stones would sweep an whole file of it from one end to the other. Things passed this night that shewed the prodigious force of these machines. A man, who stood by Josephus, had his head taken off by a stone at an hundred and seventy-five paces distance." It were better to suppose that the stone, which took off this man's head, was discharged from a machine at three hundred and seventy-five paces distance; and the Greek seems to require this sense, though the interpreters explain it otherwise: τὸ κρανίον αὐτοῦ τριῶν ἑξήκοντα πέντε σταδίων.

## P L A T E XVI. explained.

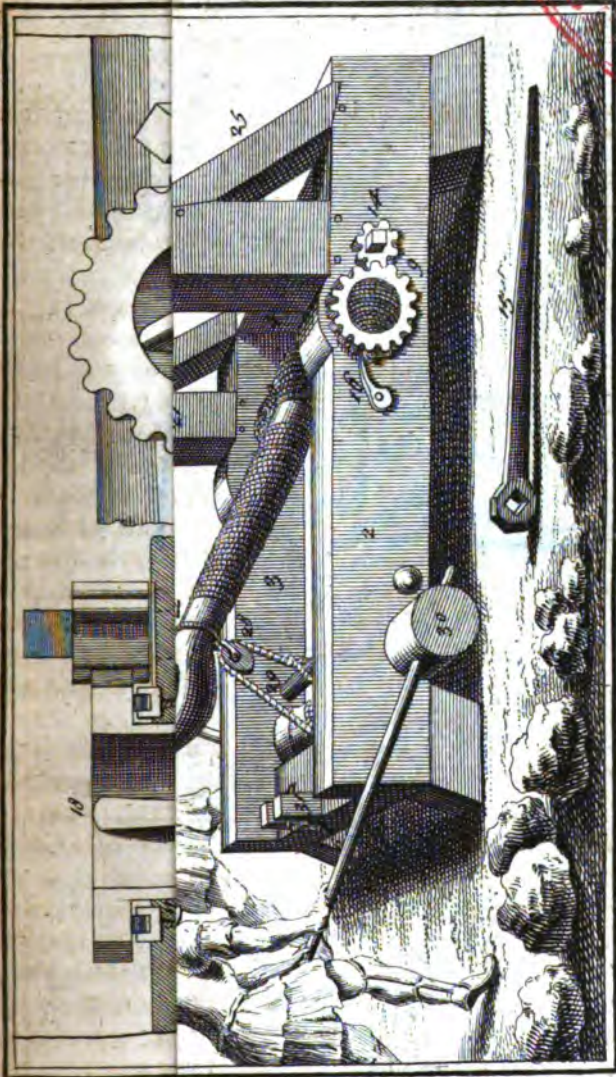
*Battering catapulta.*

**T**HIS plate represents the form and construction of a catapulta that is supposed to carry an hundred weight, which may suffice as the doctrine of all the rest to such as carried twelve hundred and upwards, it being easy to increase their powers.

The base is composed of two large beams (2) (3). The length of those beams is fifteen diameters of the bore of the capitals, which measure will be explained when we describe the capitals (9). At the two extremities of each beam two double mortises are to be cut to receive the eight tenons of the two cross-beams (4) (5), each of them four of the above diameters in length, without their tenons, observing to mark the centre of them exactly by a line cut strong in the wood (6). The cross-beam (5) must be hollowed a little on the upper side, or made not so thick as that at the other end (4), to give the greater bent to the tree or arm (22) of which we shall soon speak.

In the centre of each of the beams of the base (2) (3), at the sixth diameter of their length, a bore (8) perfectly round should be cut sixteen inches in diameter: these bores must be exactly opposite to each other, and should increase gradually to the inside of the beams; so that each of them, being sixteen inches on the outside towards the capitals (9), should be seventeen and an half at the opening on the inside; the edges to be carefully rounded off. We come now to the description of the capitals (9), which are in a manner the soul of the machine, and serve

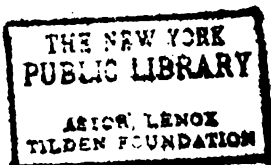
Plac. XVI.



Battering Catapulta.

W. H. Jones Sculp.





serve to twist and strain the cordage, that are its principle, or power of motion.

The capitals (9) are either of cast brass, or iron, each consisting of a wheel with teeth (10) of two inches and an half thick. The hollow or bore of these wheels should be eleven inches and about a fourth in diameter, perfectly round and with the edges smoothed down. The inward ledge (11) must be four inches deep and one thick; but, as that thickness would make it larger by one inch than the outside bore of the beams (2) (3), they must be cut to the depth of four inches (12), so as to receive it exactly. As the friction would be too great, if the capitals rubbed against the beams, by the extreme straining of the cordage which draws them towards these beams, that inconvenience may be easily remedied by the means of eight little wheels (13) of an inch in diameter, and an inch and one sixth in length, as in Fig. B, placed circularly, and turning upon axes as in Fig. A.

These little wheels or cylinders of cast brass should be round, and equal in their diameters, that the capitals may work equally on all sides.

Upon this number of cylindrical wheels, the capitals (9) must be placed in the beams (2) (3), so that the cylinders do not extend to the teeth of the wheels, which must receive a strong pinion (14). By the means of this pinion, the wheel of the capital is made to turn for straining the cordage with the key (15). To the wheel a strong stay (16) is annexed, and another of the same kind may be added, to prevent any thing from giving way through the extreme and violent force of the strained cordage. These precautions are necessary upon account of the cylindrical wheels, which, by entirely preventing the friction of the capitals, make them the more easy to give way through the extraordinary and almost inconceivable tension of the

cordage. This must be still greater in a catapult carrying four hundred weight or upwards. In such large machines, the wheels ought to be multiplied, and, for the greater precaution, a strong stay added to every wheel. We come now to the *Capital-piece*, or piece within the capital, over which the cordage is folded, and which sustains the whole force in straining it to the proper height.

This capital-piece is a nut or cross pin of iron (17) hammered cold into form, that divides the bore of the capitals exactly in two equal parts at their diameters, into which it is inserted at the depth of about an inch. This piece or nut ought to be about two inches and one third thick at top (18), and rounded off and polished as much as possible, that the cords folded over may not be hurt or cut by the roughness or edges of the iron. Its height ought to be eight inches, decreasing gradually in thickness to the bottom (19), where it ought to be only one inch. It must be very exactly inserted in the capitals: its depth of eight inches adds force to the engine, and prevents its giving way through the straining of the cordage. Perhaps its being cast with the capital, and of the same metal, might have an equal, if not a better effect.

After applying the two capitals to the bores of the two beams in the base, in an exact line with each other, and fixing the two cross diametrical nuts or pieces, over which the cordage is to fold, one end of the cord is put through the void space of one of the capitals in the base, and made fast to a nail within side of the beam. The other end of the cord is then carried through the bore in the opposite beam and capital, and so folded or wound over the cross-pieces of iron in the center of the two capitals till they are quite full; the cordage forming a large skain (20). When this is done, the last end of the cord is tied to the first which I  
have

have mentioned. The tension or straining of the cordage ought to be exactly equal, that is to say, the several foldings of cord over the capital pieces should be equally strained, and so near each other, as not to leave the least space between them. As soon as the first folding or bed of cord has filled up one whole space or breadth of the capital pieces, another must be carried over it; and so on, always equally straining the cord till no more will pass through the capitals, and the skain of cordage entirely fills them, observing to rub it from time to time with soap. The cord may also be carried thro' with both ends, taking it from the centre.

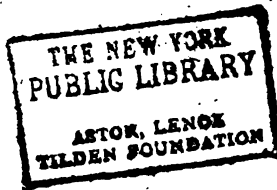
At three or four inches behind the cordage thus wound over the capital-pieces, two very strong upright beams (21) are raised: these are posts of oak, fourteen inches thick, crossed over at top by another of the same solidity. As this part of the machine is two or three inches behind the skain of cordage, it must have a small obliquity towards the cordage, in such a manner, that the arm or tree (22) fixed at the bottom, exactly in the centre of the cordage, half of which holds it on one side, and half on the other, it is necessary, I say, that the arm strike with some obliquity against the cushion or stomacher (23), which must be placed exactly in the middle of the cross-beam (24). Without this obliquity the spring of the cordage would be something abated from relaxing before the tree reached the cross-beam. The height of the upright beam (21) is seven diameters and an half, and three inches, each propped behind with very strong props, fixed at bottom in the extremities of the base (2)(3). The cross-beam (24) must be propped in the same manner in the centre (26). The upright and cross beams, props, &c. in this part of the machine, should be strengthened, especially in the joints, with double squares of iron of four inches

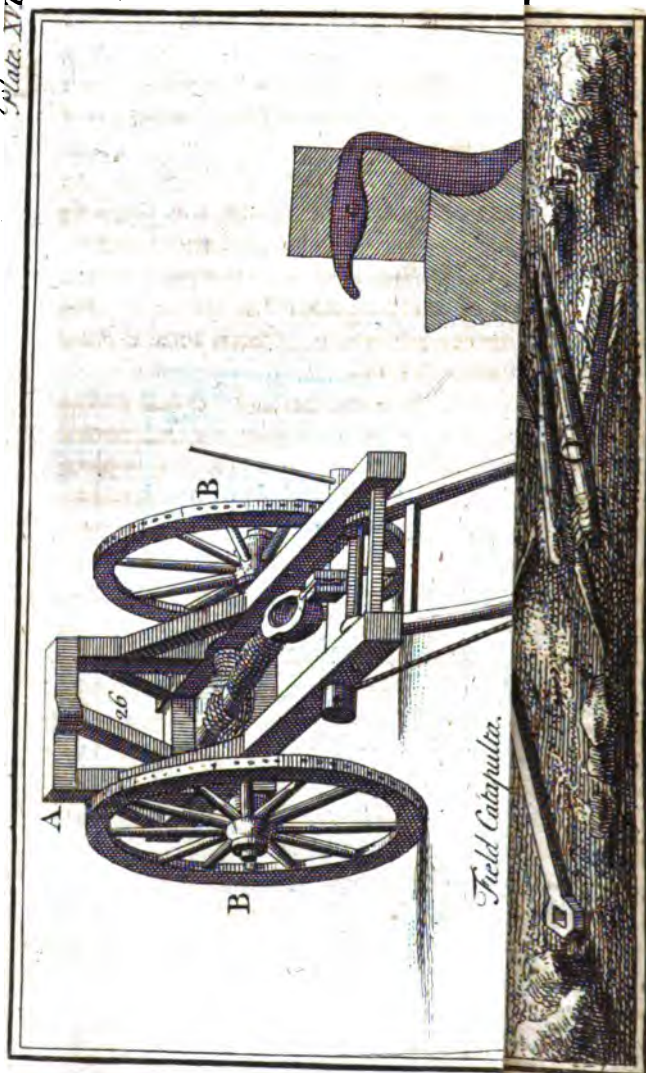
## OF THE ART MILITARY.

hooked; may almost touch it, when the hand or receiver is come to it's proper place at bottom. The cock or trigger (31), which serves as a stay, is then brought to it, and made fast by its hook to the extremity of the hand, which is either in the form of a spoon, as in the plate; or of an iron hand, with three branches a little curve: in this the body to be discharged is put. If the machine is to throw flints, they are put into an osier basket, that exactly fits the hand or receiver: the pulley at the neck of the arm is then unhooked, and when the trigger is to let it off, a stroke must be given upon it with an iron bar or crow, of about an inch in diameter; the arm then goes off, with a force little unequal to that of a modern mortar. It is to be observed, that the tree or arm describes an angle of ninety degrees, beginning at the cock, and ending at the stomacher or cushion. See the second plate of the catapulta (32), to which this explanation refers in another instance or two.

My little catapulta, says Mr. Follard, is only ten inches long by thirteen broad. It throws a ball of lead, of a pound weight, almost five hundred yards. This kind of machines carry a greater or less way, according to the points of elevation given them, and their different degrees or beds of the cordage, which we have carried to thirty-six. We believe, that a catapulta, according to the proportions here laid down, must carry at least eight hundred yards. However, adds he, we do not pretend to advance this as a certainty, not having had opportunity to make the experiment.







Battering Catapult with its Capitan affixed in its upright beams, it is used for throwing great Guns or many at a time.

## P L A T E XVII. explained.

*Another battering catapulta, with its capitals affixed in its upright beams, and a canal for shewing great darts, or many at a time.*

**A** R E the two double beams of the capitals fixed upright upon the base C, and supported by the props D, with tenons and mortises, which serve to strengthen them against the stroke of the arm E upon the cross-beam F, which should have its cushion or stomacher G.

When the arm E is to be brought down to the cross-beam H, it is done by the roller K, round which runs the cable L. The cock M is then brought to it, which ought to be a little curve. This catapulta is scarce less simple than the former, and, according to Mr. Folland, might be of great use in besieged places, if planted at bottom, and behind the walls.

It was particularly used for throwing darts of an extraordinary size, and sometimes several together; the other threw both stones and darts at once, and in very great numbers. The same author says, that he doubted at first whether the catapulta could do this or no, but was not long without discovering the mystery. As there is something curious in it, he gives the following explanation of it.

N is a canal of oak rounded within in form of a gutter. Its length is six diameters of the capitals, and its breadth in proportion to the size of the large dart O, or bundle of darts to be discharged. These darts were larger and longer, and more or less in number, according to the size of the machine.

When

When arrows were to be shot in the manner of cartridges, the end of the canal or gutter was placed in a cut of the depth of two inches in the centre of the cross-beam F, which it fitted exactly. It entered about two inches into the cushion or stomacher, supported by the prop P, to hinder it from bending or giving way. The upper part of the arm ought to be flat at the place where it strikes the great dart or cartridge, and covered with a plate of steel, a quarter of an inch thick.

To discharge a bundle of large darts, they undoubtedly made use of a deal box of a round form, into which the bundle of arrows were put, tied with a very small twine in the middle, to keep them in a right line and parallel with each other. This box was put into the canal or gutter, and projected six or seven inches beyond the cushion towards the arm. It must have been very slight, loosely put together, and of little or no weight, except at the end struck by the arm, which, it is supposed, might be an inch thick or upwards. Its length was according to that of the arrows, that is to say, it should be about half as long, their length being two diameters and an half (*of the bore of the capitals as in the former catapult*). The trigger was then struck, and the arm, coming flat against the box, drove it with the arrows to a very great distance. The wind took the pieces of the box, which soon separated, and the arrows, scattering and spreading in their flight, did terrible execution in the ranks of the enemy. My little catapult, says Mr. Follard, (from whose Polybius most of these extracts are made) discharged ten arrows in this manner, to the distance of almost an hundred paces, at eight degrees of elevation. The antients no doubt made use of the quadrant in planting their machines, as the moderns do for their mortars.

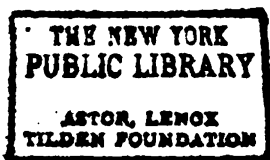




Plate XVIII.



W. H. Jones, Sculptor.

The Bowditch Used in Survey.

## P L A T E XVIII. explained.

*The balista used in sieges.*

**T**HE balista was used particularly to discharge darts of a surprising length and weight, and often many small ones together. It sometimes carried leaden bullets of equal weight to the darts it discharged. This, says Mr. Follard, is plain from experiments, but we are convinced, adds he, that it was seldom used in the latter manner. Its form was not unlike that of a broken bow; it had two arms, but straight and not curve like those of the cross-bow, of which the whole acting force consists in bending the bow. That of the balista, as well as of the catapulta, lies in its cords; which will dispense with our entering too circumstantially into the description of its different parts. The plate will explain infinitely better its structure, and the powers that act it, than can be done in words.

The balista in the plate is supposed to be one that carried a dart of sixty pounds weight, of the length of three feet, nine inches, and three quarters, that is to say, according to Vitruvius, that the bores of the capitals were eight inches and three quarters in diameter, or one fifth of the length of the dart which the machine carried. It is composed of a base (2), two upright beams (3) (4) of fifteen diameters and five sixths in height without the tenons; and of two cross-beams (5) (6), seventeen diameters five sixths long. (7) The capitals of the cross-beam (5). (8) The capitals of the cross-beams below (6); both which must be understood to answer exactly to those above (7). These two cross-beams are propped and strengthened by  
the

the square posts (9), which are five diameters in height without the tenons, and of equal thickness with the upright beams. The space between the two posts (9), and the upright beams (3) (4), is about seven diameters. (10) The two skains of cordage on the right and left. (11) The two arms engaged in the centre of those skains. The length of those arms is ten diameters, including the two hooks at the extremity of each of them, in which the cord (12), or, to speak more properly, the great cable, is fastened like the string of a cross-bow. This cable ought to be of cat-gut, exceedingly strained and twisted together; whence it lengthens in charging, and contracts in discharging, and thereby gives some addition of force to the machine.

The ends of the arms have no receiver as the catapults, and ought to be of one form, perfectly equal in their thickness, length, and weight, without bending when strained to the utmost. The darts (13) ought to be as exactly equal in all respects as the arms, which must be placed in a parallel line, and, in consequence, on the same height in the centre of the two skains of cordage (10).

The two upright beams (3) (4) ought to be curve at the place marked (14), where the arms strike in discharging. In this hollow or curve place, the cushions (15) must be affixed. By the hollowing these upright beams in this manner, the arms are in a parallel line with the cordage, and each describes a right angle, when strained to the utmost in charging. It is of no great consequence whether the arms of the balista strike against the cushions with their ends or middles; so that the cross-beams (5) (6), wherein the capitals (7) are affixed with the cordage, may be shortened as much as convenient without retrenching the height of the machine. This must suit the field balista best.

The



The space between the two posts (9), which ought to be in the centre between the two cross-beams, where the tree (16) is inserted, must be something narrower than that tree; in order that cuts of two or three inches may be made in each side the post (9) to keep it in form. In this tree (16) a canal or gutter must be made in an exactly right line, to receive and guide the great dart. Its length is in proportion to the bending of the two arms with the cord (12): in the same manner the length of its canal is known, and the place where the nut of the cock or trigger (17) is to be fixed, to receive the cord or cable at the end of the arms, as the string of a bow, in its centre. This nut or hook holds fast the cord, and the cock or trigger is of the same kind with that of the cross-bow. In respect to the tree with the canal in it (16), it must be exactly of the same height with the cord (12), which ought to rub upon it: for, if the cord were higher, it would not take the dart; and if it pressed too much upon it, there would be a friction upon the tree with the canal in which the dart lies, that would lessen the force impelling it.

At the two feet below the trigger is the roll or windlafs (11) round which a cord turns with an iron hand or grappling (19) at the end of it. This grappling seizes the cord of the arms or bow in the centre to charge the machine. It has two hooks, which are wider from each other than the breadth of the nut, that ought to have an opening in the middle, like that of the cross-bow, to receive the end of the dart against the cord, when seized by it.

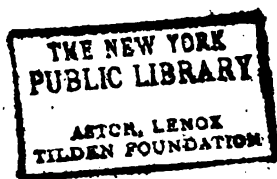
The upright beams (3) (4), besides their tenons and mortises at the base, were strongly propped and stayed behind and before. Some authors, and even Vitruvius, give the machine a kind of table (20), upon which the tree (16) is partly supported;

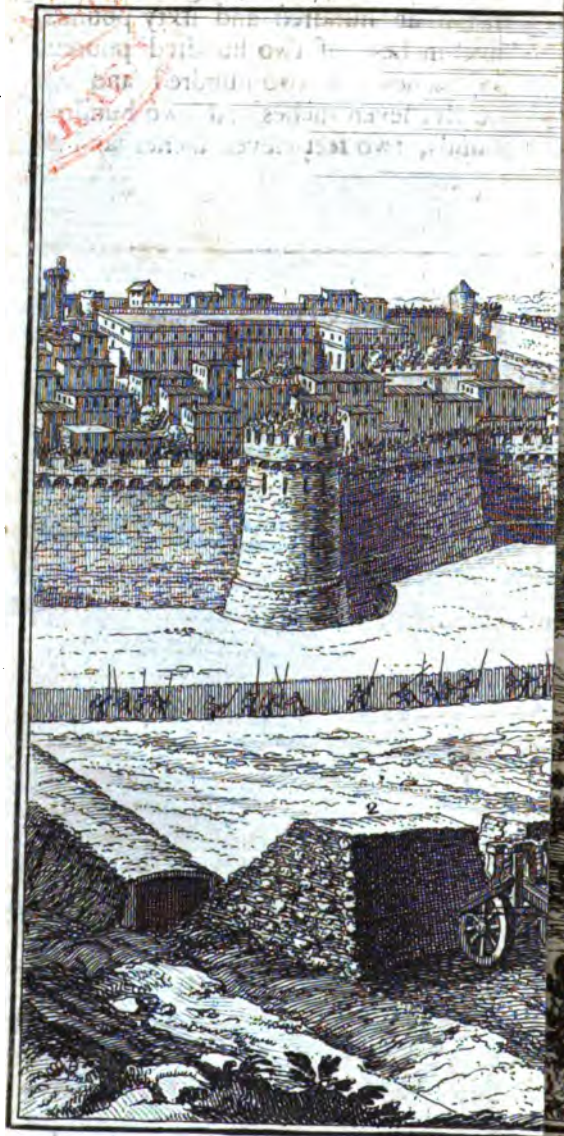
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the height of which, with the tree, ought to be exactly equal with that of the cord (12). This table is supposed to have been intended only to support the tree (16), which must have been a very large beam of sixteen diameters, and two feet in length, and of a breadth and thickness in proportion to the size of the dart it discharged. It is very natural to be of this opinion, if we consider the vast force necessary in charging this machine, which was capable of bending the strongest beam, if its thickness did not exceed its breadth.

As to the powers necessary in charging this machine, it is certain that those which carried darts or beams of an extraordinary size, besides several wheels with teeth, for twisting the cordage in the capitals, must have used the roll (18), with several double-wheeled pulleys, and perhaps the windlass, for bending the arms, and bringing the cord (12) to the stay or nut of the cock or trigger: after this the great dart was laid in the canal cut along the tree (16). Procopius tells us, *De Bell. Gotb. c. 28*, that, because feather wings could not be put to these arrows, the ancients used pieces of wood six inches thick, which had the same effect. Under the name of balista, Vitruvius, *lib. 10. cap. 17*; gives us the proportions of the capitals of the catapulta, and consequently of the whole machine, by the weight of the stones it discharged; how justly, the ingenious commentator upon Polybius refers to be examined by better judges. The passage is as follows:

“ The catapulta that throws a stone of two  
 “ pounds, ought to have the bores of its capitals  
 “ five inches wide. If the stone be four pounds,  
 “ they must be from six to seven inches: if ten  
 “ pounds, eight: if twenty pounds, ten inches:  
 “ if forty pounds, twelve inches and three quarters:  
 “ if sixty pounds, thirteen inches and nine  
 “ eighths: if eighty pounds, fourteen inches and  
 “ six eighths: if a hundred pounds, fifteen inches  
 “ and three eighths: if a hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, sixteen inches and three eighths: if a  
 “ hundred and forty pounds, seventeen inches and  
 “ three eighths: if a hundred and sixty pounds,  
 “ eighteen inches and three eighths: if a hundred  
 “ and eighty pounds, nineteen inches and three  
 “ eighths: if two hundred pounds, twenty inches  
 “ and three eighths: if two hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, twenty one inches and three eighths: if  
 “ two hundred and forty pounds, twenty two inches  
 “ and three eighths: if two hundred and sixty  
 “ pounds, twenty three inches and three eighths: if  
 “ two hundred and eighty pounds, twenty four inches  
 “ and three eighths: if three hundred pounds, twenty  
 “ five inches and three eighths: if three hundred and  
 “ twenty pounds, twenty six inches and three eighths:  
 “ if three hundred and forty pounds, twenty seven  
 “ inches and three eighths: if three hundred and  
 “ sixty pounds, twenty eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if three hundred and eighty pounds, twenty  
 “ nine inches and three eighths: if four hundred  
 “ pounds, thirty inches and three eighths: if four  
 “ hundred and twenty pounds, thirty one inches and  
 “ three eighths: if four hundred and forty pounds,  
 “ thirty two inches and three eighths: if four  
 “ hundred and sixty pounds, thirty three inches and  
 “ three eighths: if four hundred and eighty pounds,  
 “ thirty four inches and three eighths: if five  
 “ hundred pounds, thirty five inches and three  
 “ eighths: if five hundred and twenty pounds, thirty  
 “ six inches and three eighths: if five hundred and  
 “ forty pounds, thirty seven inches and three  
 “ eighths: if five hundred and sixty pounds, thirty  
 “ eight inches and three eighths: if five hundred  
 “ and eighty pounds, thirty nine inches and three  
 “ eighths: if six hundred pounds, forty inches and  
 “ three eighths: if six hundred and twenty pounds,  
 “ forty one inches and three eighths: if six hundred  
 “ and forty pounds, forty two inches and three  
 “ eighths: if six hundred and sixty pounds, forty  
 “ three inches and three eighths: if six hundred  
 “ and eighty pounds, forty four inches and three  
 “ eighths: if seven hundred pounds, forty five  
 “ inches and three eighths: if seven hundred and  
 “ twenty pounds, forty six inches and three  
 “ eighths: if seven hundred and forty pounds, forty  
 “ seven inches and three eighths: if seven hundred  
 “ and sixty pounds, forty eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if seven hundred and eighty pounds, forty  
 “ nine inches and three eighths: if eight hundred  
 “ pounds, fifty inches and three eighths: if eight  
 “ hundred and twenty pounds, fifty one inches and  
 “ three eighths: if eight hundred and forty pounds,  
 “ fifty two inches and three eighths: if eight  
 “ hundred and sixty pounds, fifty three inches and  
 “ three eighths: if eight hundred and eighty  
 “ pounds, fifty four inches and three eighths: if  
 “ nine hundred pounds, fifty five inches and three  
 “ eighths: if nine hundred and twenty pounds, fifty  
 “ six inches and three eighths: if nine hundred  
 “ and forty pounds, fifty seven inches and three  
 “ eighths: if nine hundred and sixty pounds, fifty  
 “ eight inches and three eighths: if nine hundred  
 “ and eighty pounds, fifty nine inches and three  
 “ eighths: if a thousand pounds, sixty inches and  
 “ three eighths: if a thousand and twenty pounds,  
 “ sixty one inches and three eighths: if a thousand  
 “ and forty pounds, sixty two inches and three  
 “ eighths: if a thousand and sixty pounds, sixty  
 “ three inches and three eighths: if a thousand  
 “ and eighty pounds, sixty four inches and three  
 “ eighths: if eleven hundred pounds, sixty five  
 “ inches and three eighths: if eleven hundred and  
 “ twenty pounds, sixty six inches and three  
 “ eighths: if eleven hundred and forty pounds, sixty  
 “ seven inches and three eighths: if eleven hundred  
 “ and sixty pounds, sixty eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if eleven hundred and eighty pounds, sixty  
 “ nine inches and three eighths: if twelve hundred  
 “ pounds, seventy inches and three eighths: if twelve  
 “ hundred and twenty pounds, seventy one inches and  
 “ three eighths: if twelve hundred and forty pounds,  
 “ seventy two inches and three eighths: if twelve  
 “ hundred and sixty pounds, seventy three inches and  
 “ three eighths: if twelve hundred and eighty  
 “ pounds, seventy four inches and three eighths: if  
 “ thirteen hundred pounds, seventy five inches and  
 “ three eighths: if thirteen hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, seventy six inches and three eighths: if  
 “ thirteen hundred and forty pounds, seventy seven  
 “ inches and three eighths: if thirteen hundred  
 “ and sixty pounds, seventy eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if thirteen hundred and eighty pounds,  
 “ seventy nine inches and three eighths: if fourteen  
 “ hundred pounds, eighty inches and three eighths:  
 “ if fourteen hundred and twenty pounds, eighty one  
 “ inches and three eighths: if fourteen hundred  
 “ and forty pounds, eighty two inches and three  
 “ eighths: if fourteen hundred and sixty pounds,  
 “ eighty three inches and three eighths: if fourteen  
 “ hundred and eighty pounds, eighty four inches and  
 “ three eighths: if fifteen hundred pounds, eighty  
 “ five inches and three eighths: if fifteen hundred  
 “ and twenty pounds, eighty six inches and three  
 “ eighths: if fifteen hundred and forty pounds, eighty  
 “ seven inches and three eighths: if fifteen hundred  
 “ and sixty pounds, eighty eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if fifteen hundred and eighty pounds, eighty  
 “ nine inches and three eighths: if sixteen hundred  
 “ pounds, ninety inches and three eighths: if sixteen  
 “ hundred and twenty pounds, ninety one inches and  
 “ three eighths: if sixteen hundred and forty pounds,  
 “ ninety two inches and three eighths: if sixteen  
 “ hundred and sixty pounds, ninety three inches and  
 “ three eighths: if sixteen hundred and eighty  
 “ pounds, ninety four inches and three eighths: if  
 “ seventeen hundred pounds, ninety five inches and  
 “ three eighths: if seventeen hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, ninety six inches and three eighths: if  
 “ seventeen hundred and forty pounds, ninety seven  
 “ inches and three eighths: if seventeen hundred  
 “ and sixty pounds, ninety eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if seventeen hundred and eighty pounds,  
 “ ninety nine inches and three eighths: if eighteen  
 “ hundred pounds, a hundred inches and three  
 “ eighths: if eighteen hundred and twenty pounds,  
 “ a hundred and one inches and three eighths: if  
 “ eighteen hundred and forty pounds, a hundred and  
 “ two inches and three eighths: if eighteen hundred  
 “ and sixty pounds, a hundred and three inches and  
 “ three eighths: if eighteen hundred and eighty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and four inches and three  
 “ eighths: if nineteen hundred pounds, a hundred  
 “ and five inches and three eighths: if nineteen  
 “ hundred and twenty pounds, a hundred and six  
 “ inches and three eighths: if nineteen hundred  
 “ and forty pounds, a hundred and seven inches and  
 “ three eighths: if nineteen hundred and sixty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if nineteen hundred and eighty pounds,  
 “ a hundred and nine inches and three eighths: if  
 “ twenty hundred pounds, a hundred and ten inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and eleven inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty hundred and forty pounds, a  
 “ hundred and twelve inches and three eighths: if  
 “ twenty hundred and sixty pounds, a hundred and  
 “ thirteen inches and three eighths: if twenty  
 “ hundred and eighty pounds, a hundred and  
 “ fourteen inches and three eighths: if twenty  
 “ one hundred pounds, a hundred and fifteen inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty one hundred and  
 “ twenty pounds, a hundred and sixteen inches and  
 “ three eighths: if twenty one hundred and forty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and seventeen inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty one hundred and sixty pounds,  
 “ a hundred and eighteen inches and three eighths:  
 “ if twenty one hundred and eighty pounds, a  
 “ hundred and nineteen inches and three eighths:  
 “ if twenty two hundred pounds, a hundred and  
 “ twenty inches and three eighths: if twenty two  
 “ hundred and twenty pounds, a hundred and twenty  
 “ one inches and three eighths: if twenty two  
 “ hundred and forty pounds, a hundred and twenty  
 “ two inches and three eighths: if twenty two  
 “ hundred and sixty pounds, a hundred and twenty  
 “ three inches and three eighths: if twenty two  
 “ hundred and eighty pounds, a hundred and twenty  
 “ four inches and three eighths: if twenty three  
 “ hundred pounds, a hundred and twenty five inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty three hundred and  
 “ twenty pounds, a hundred and twenty six inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty three hundred and  
 “ forty pounds, a hundred and twenty seven inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty three hundred and  
 “ sixty pounds, a hundred and twenty eight inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty three hundred and  
 “ eighty pounds, a hundred and twenty nine inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty four hundred  
 “ pounds, a hundred and thirty inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty four hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and thirty one inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty four hundred and forty pounds,  
 “ a hundred and thirty two inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty four hundred and sixty pounds,  
 “ a hundred and thirty three inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty four hundred and eighty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and thirty four inches and  
 “ three eighths: if twenty five hundred pounds,  
 “ a hundred and thirty five inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty five hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and thirty six inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty five hundred and forty pounds,  
 “ a hundred and thirty seven inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty five hundred and sixty pounds,  
 “ a hundred and thirty eight inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty five hundred and eighty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and thirty nine inches and  
 “ three eighths: if twenty six hundred pounds,  
 “ a hundred and forty inches and three eighths:  
 “ if twenty six hundred and twenty pounds, a  
 “ hundred and forty one inches and three eighths:  
 “ if twenty six hundred and forty pounds, a  
 “ hundred and forty two inches and three eighths:  
 “ if twenty six hundred and sixty pounds, a  
 “ hundred and forty three inches and three eighths:  
 “ if twenty six hundred and eighty pounds, a  
 “ hundred and forty four inches and three eighths:  
 “ if twenty seven hundred pounds, a hundred and  
 “ forty five inches and three eighths: if twenty  
 “ seven hundred and twenty pounds, a hundred and  
 “ forty six inches and three eighths: if twenty  
 “ seven hundred and forty pounds, a hundred and  
 “ forty seven inches and three eighths: if twenty  
 “ seven hundred and sixty pounds, a hundred and  
 “ forty eight inches and three eighths: if twenty  
 “ seven hundred and eighty pounds, a hundred and  
 “ forty nine inches and three eighths: if twenty  
 “ eight hundred pounds, a hundred and fifty inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty eight hundred and  
 “ twenty pounds, a hundred and fifty one inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty eight hundred and  
 “ forty pounds, a hundred and fifty two inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty eight hundred and  
 “ sixty pounds, a hundred and fifty three inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty eight hundred and  
 “ eighty pounds, a hundred and fifty four inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty nine hundred  
 “ pounds, a hundred and fifty five inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty nine hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and fifty six inches and three  
 “ eighths: if twenty nine hundred and forty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and fifty seven inches and  
 “ three eighths: if twenty nine hundred and  
 “ sixty pounds, a hundred and fifty eight inches  
 “ and three eighths: if twenty nine hundred and  
 “ eighty pounds, a hundred and fifty nine inches  
 “ and three eighths: if thirty hundred pounds,  
 “ a hundred and sixty inches and three eighths:  
 “ if thirty hundred and twenty pounds, a hundred  
 “ and sixty one inches and three eighths: if thirty  
 “ hundred and forty pounds, a hundred and sixty  
 “ two inches and three eighths: if thirty hundred  
 “ and sixty pounds, a hundred and sixty three  
 “ inches and three eighths: if thirty hundred  
 “ and eighty pounds, a hundred and sixty four  
 “ inches and three eighths: if thirty one hundred  
 “ pounds, a hundred and sixty five inches and  
 “ three eighths: if thirty one hundred and twenty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and sixty six inches and  
 “ three eighths: if thirty one hundred and forty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and sixty seven inches and  
 “ three eighths: if thirty one hundred and sixty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and sixty eight inches and  
 “ three eighths: if thirty one hundred and eighty  
 “ pounds, a hundred and sixty nine inches and  
 “ three eighths: if thirty two hundred pounds,  
 “ a hundred and seventy inches and three eighths:  
 “ if thirty two hundred and twenty pounds, a  
 “ hundred and





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“ eighth: if fourscore pounds, fifteen inches: if  
 “ an hundred and twenty pounds, eighteen inches  
 “ and an half: if an hundred and sixty pounds,  
 “ two feet five inches: if two hundred pounds,  
 “ two feet six inches: if two hundred and ten  
 “ pounds, two feet seven inches: if two hundred  
 “ and fifty pounds, two feet eleven inches and an  
 “ half.”

### PLATE XIX. explained.

*Batteries of balista's and catapulta's.*

**M**R. Follard proves the batteries in this plate to be of the form of those of the antients from a part of Trajan's column, a plate of which he has inserted in his Polybius.

(2) A battery of balista's.

(3) The embrazures through which the balista's discharge.

(4) The breastwork or covert for the men that worked the machines; which must undoubtedly have been much higher than those of the modern batteries, because the timbers of the balista used in times were very high. They did not make these works so thick as we do, and raised them higher, proportioning their thickness only to their height. Neither is it to be doubted, but that they made them sometimes of small beams laid across each other at equal distances, filling up the spaces with earth and turf.

The batteries of catapulta's (5) are not so well known, nothing being said of the construction of them in history; but, if we consider attentively the manner in which they discharged, it must be

agreed, that the antients were under the necessity of placing them behind such a work as the moderns cover their batteries of mortars with; and that with no addition except in the height, as in those of the balista. This is evident to every man's common sense; it being utterly impossible to invent any other method for covering these machines from the view of the besieged in using them. The upper beam of the catapulta was very high, which made it necessary to raise the work or covert (6) in proportion.

The ingenious commentator upon Polybius, who treats the balista and catapulta with great extent, tells us their force was very near equal to that of artillery. He prefers the use of the latter, for many very solid reasons, to that of the mortar; which, he says, it would soon banish from armies, if the ignorance of its effects, and the prejudice of custom, did not oppose.

## S E C T. III.

*The ram.*

THE use of the ram is very antient, and the invention of it ascribed to different people. It seems difficult, and hardly worth the trouble, to discover the author of it.

The ram was either slung or not slung.

The swinging ram was composed of a large beam of oak, resembling a ship's mast, of prodigious length and thickness, with the end armed with an head of iron proportioned to the body, and in the shape of a ram's, from whence it had its name, because it strikes against the walls, as a ram doth with his head against all he encounters. This ram's bigness should be conformable to its length. Vitruvius gives that he mentions four thousand talents in weight, that is to say, four hundred and fourscore thousand pounds\*, which is not very exorbitant. This terrible machine was suspended and balanced equally, like the beam of a pair of scales, with a chain or large cables, which supported it in the air in a kind of building of timber, which was pushed forwards, upon the filling up of the fosse, to a certain distance from the wall, by the means of rollers or wheels. The building was secured from being set on fire by the besieged, by several coverings, with which it was cased over. This manner of working the ram seems the most easy, and requires no great strength. The heaviest body suspended in the air may be moved with inconsiderable force.

\* The Roman pound weighed less than the French by almost a quarter.

## P L A T E XX. explained.

*Battering ram suspended.*

(2) **T**HE ram.

(3) The form of its head, according to all the monuments Greek and Roman, made fast to the enormous beam by four bands, or fillets of iron, of four feet in length. At the extremity of each of these bands (4) was a chain (5) of the same metal, one end of which was fastened to an hook (6), and at the other extremity of each of these chains was a cable very firmly bound to the last link: these cables ran the whole length of the beam to the end of the ram (7), where they were all made as fast together as possible with small cordage.

At the end of these cables another was affixed, composed of several strong cords platted together to a certain length, and then running single (8). At each of these several men were placed, to balance and work the machine. To strengthen the ram, it was bound with strong cords from two feet to two feet, the whole length of the beam.

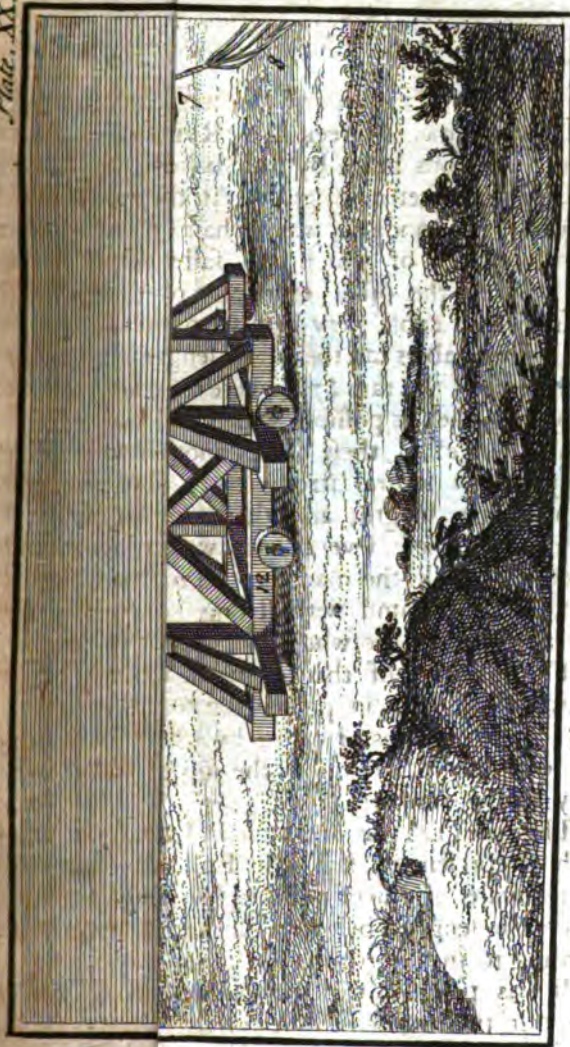
The thickness of this terrible machine, as Josephus calls it, was in proportion to its length.

(10) The chains or cables by which it hung to the cross-beam (11) upon the top of the frame of very strong timbers.

The base (12) was not such as Vitruvius and Josephus represent it, says Mr. Follard, but an oblong square of thirty or forty feet, and sometimes more, in length, by more or less in breadth, according to the length of the ram.

It was planted, the frame being first well covered in the manner of the tortoise, upon the part of the fosse filled up, and was worked by men behind





Battering Ram Suspended.

W. H. Thomas Sculp.

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hind the blinds of the trench next the counterscarp; the batteries of balista's and catapulta's from the side of the counterscarp, the moving towers and cavaliers, all covering the workmen by clearing the works of the besieged.

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But it is not so easy to comprehend how these rams were carried from place to place. For it is not to be imagined, that beams of such immense thickness and extraordinary length could be found wherever there was occasion for them; and it is certain that armies never marched without these machines. The Chevalier Follard, for want of information in this point from the writers of antiquity, conjectures, that they carried this ram-beam upon a four-wheel carriage of a particular form, composed of very strong timbers; the beam suspended short to a strong stay or cross-beam in form of a gibbet (as in Plate XXI.) powerfully sustained by all the wood-work capable of resisting the most violent shocks, and the whole joined and strengthened well with bindings and plates of iron.

## P L A T E XXI. explained.

*Carriage of the battering ram.*

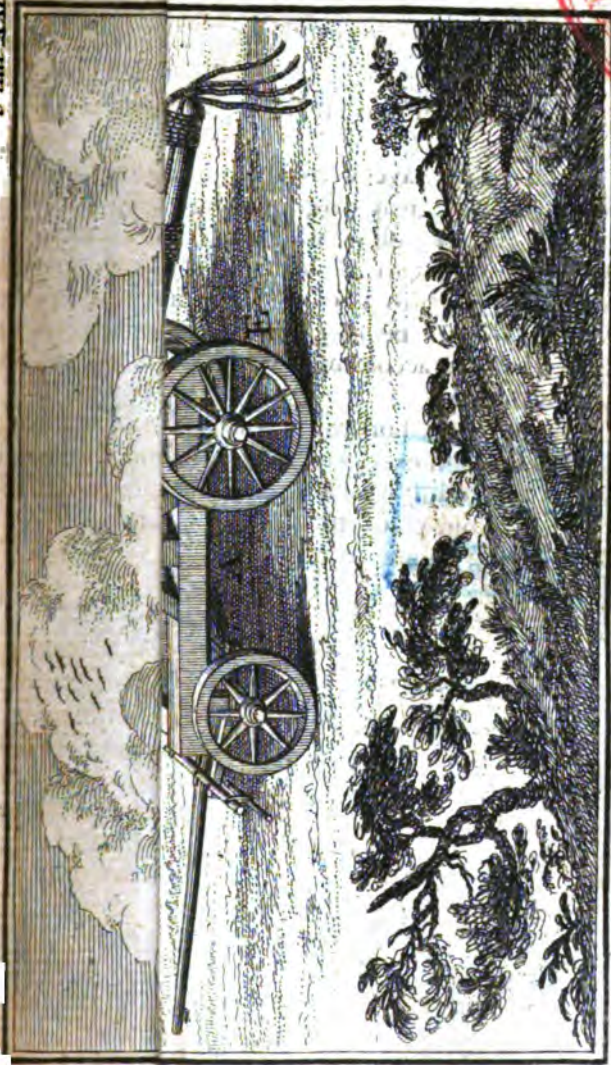
A **T**HE carriage according to Mr. Follard.  
 B The ram, tied up short to the cross-beam; laid over two others in the form of a gibbet C.

As it must have been very difficult to carry beams of this great length through deep and narrow defiles and hollow ways, it seems almost impossible to have carried them in any other manner than slung short to a cross-beam, as in the plate, in order to their being either raised or lowered on the sides DE, according to occasion, and the nature of the ways.

The same author thinks the figure of this carriage a sufficient explanation of the manner in which the ancients must necessarily have transported these machines from place to place; which he submits to the reader's judgment.

There was another kind of ram which was not suspended or slung. We see, upon the column of Trajan, the Dacians besieging some Romans in a fortress, which they batter with a ram, worked only by strength of arms. They are not covered with any thing, so that both the ram, and those who work it, are exposed to the darts of the besieged. It could not, in this method of using it, produce any great effect.

Plate VII



*Carriage of the Battering Ram.*



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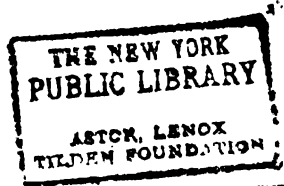
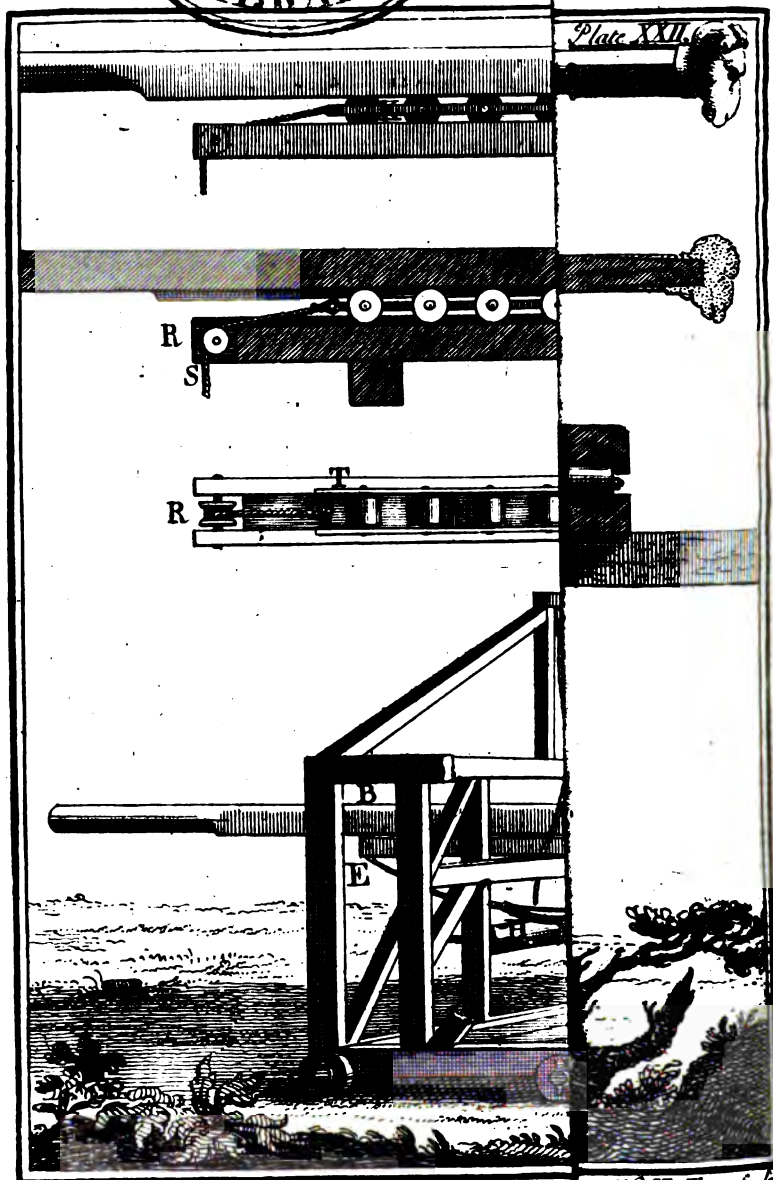






Plate XXII.



W. H. Tomes Sculp.



PLATE XXII. explained.

*Battering ram not suspended.*

**T**ORTOISE for the ram according to the antients\*.

**B** The two ends of the ram out of the tortoise, which ran upon a chain of little wheels.

**C** The chanal or groove cut in the great beam.

**D** Soldiers working the ram in the tortoise by the cordage at each end **E**.

**F** Cordage fastened to the ram and the cross-beam **G**, to stop the ram, and prevent its quitting its canal or groove in being pushed backward and forward.

— **H** Roller, with its cordage and pulley at top, for raising the ram, and placing it upon its canal,

*Powers for moving the ram explained.*

**I** Ram upon its canal and chain of little wheels before quite let down.

**L** Ring in which the cordage is fastened that stops the ram at a certain proper distance.

**M** Draught of the ram, and its canal or groove **N** at length.

\* Mr. Rollin seems to have been led into a mistake, in respect to this kind of ram, by the plate of it in Mr. Follard's Polybius; in which it was necessary to give a view of the inside of the tortoise, to shew the manner of working it by the soldiers. The very name of tortoise, as well as the front, and part of the roof and sides, covered against the machines and fires of the besieged, shew, that it was not open, (as he supposes) but covered like other tortoises; otherwise, as he observes, it would have been of very small, or rather of no, use against the enemy.

**O** Draught

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O Draught of the little cylinders, that turn upon their axes, fixed in two bands of iron, each of a single piece P, which are held at due distance, and parallel to each other for the moving of the wheels by the cross-pieces Q.

R Pullies to facilitate the motion of the two cables S fastened to the two cross-pieces at the extremities T of the wheels, which put the ram in motion.

V Axis, or pin of iron put in a bore, made in the centre of one of the beams, which support the ram, for turning it, and battering the wall in different places.

X Cross-view of the wheels between the ram and the groove.

Y Plan of the little cylinder or wheels as fixed by the axis in the iron frames or bands P.

It has been questioned whether the rams, fixed in the moving towers, or in a kind of tortoise, were slung or not; and there are strong reasons on both sides. My plan does not admit my entering into this dispute.

I shall presently relate the prodigious effects of the ram. As it was one of the machines that hurt the besieged most, many methods were contrived to render it useless. Fire was darted upon the roof that covered, and the timbers that supported it, in order to burn them with the ram. To deaden its blows, sacks of wool were let down against the place at which it was levelled. Other machines were opposed against it to break its force, or to turn aside its head, when battering the works. Abundance of means were employed to prevent its effects. Some of them may be seen in the sieges I have

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I have cited in the beginning of this paragraph. Josephus relates a surprising action of a Jew, who, De Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 16. at the siege of Jotaphat, threw a stone of an enormous size upon the head of the ram with such violence, that he loosened it from the beam, and made it fall down. He leaped afterwards from the top of the wall to the bottom, took the head from the midst of the enemies, and carried it back with him. He received five arrows in his body, and, notwithstanding those wounds, boldly kept in his post, till, through loss of blood and strength, he fell from the wall, and the ram's head with him, with which he would never part.

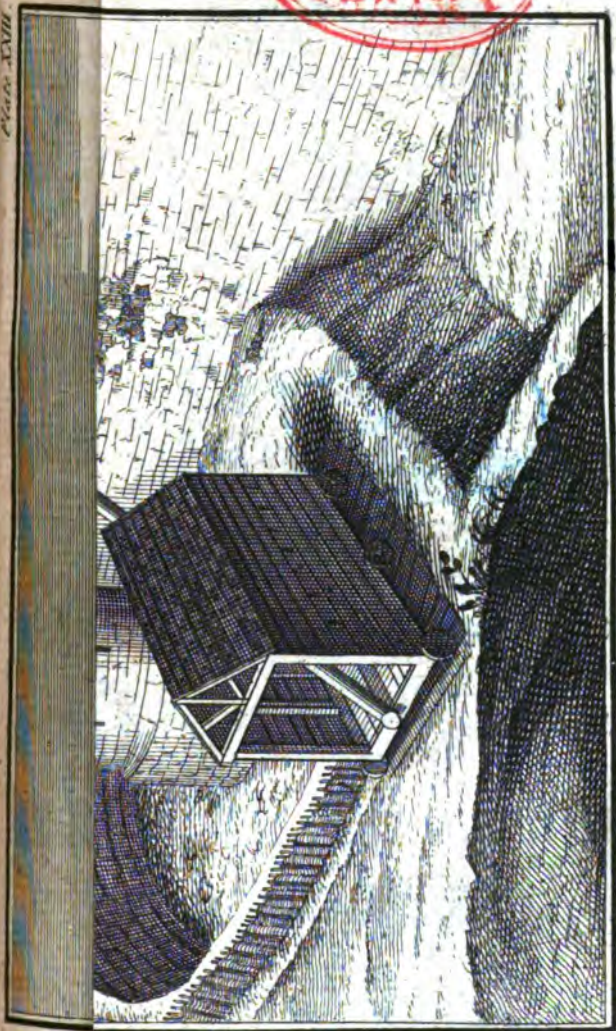
PLATE

## P L A T E XXIII. explained.

*The corvus (crow or crane) with nippers for seizing the battering ram.*

THE antients called many different machines by the name of corvus (crane) the invention of which is ascribed to several, and amongst others to Archimedes; but that opinion is refuted by the testimony of authors, some of whom ascribe it to Charistion at the siege of Samos, two hundred and twenty years before that of Syracuse. If we may believe Quintus Curtius, neither Archimedes, nor Charistion, had any share in this invention, the Tyrians having used the same machine against Alexander the Great, long before either of them came into the world. The several species of it are inserted in this place, and at Chapter III, that treats of the navies of the antients.

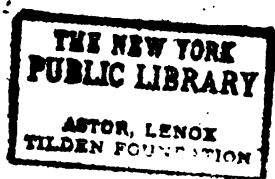
The plate represents the corvus with nippers or claws, that have teeth, and opened and shut like scissars, to seize the ram, or any thing, between them. They were used in many antient sieges, and particularly in that of Byzantium by the Emperor Severus. Dion says, that the besieged had *corvi* (*barpagones*) with iron claws, which carried off whatever they fastened upon with surprising velocity. The plate sufficiently explains the doctrine of the machine, which is of the nature of the balance and lever.



Corvus (Cron or Crane) with nippers for seizing & Battering Ram

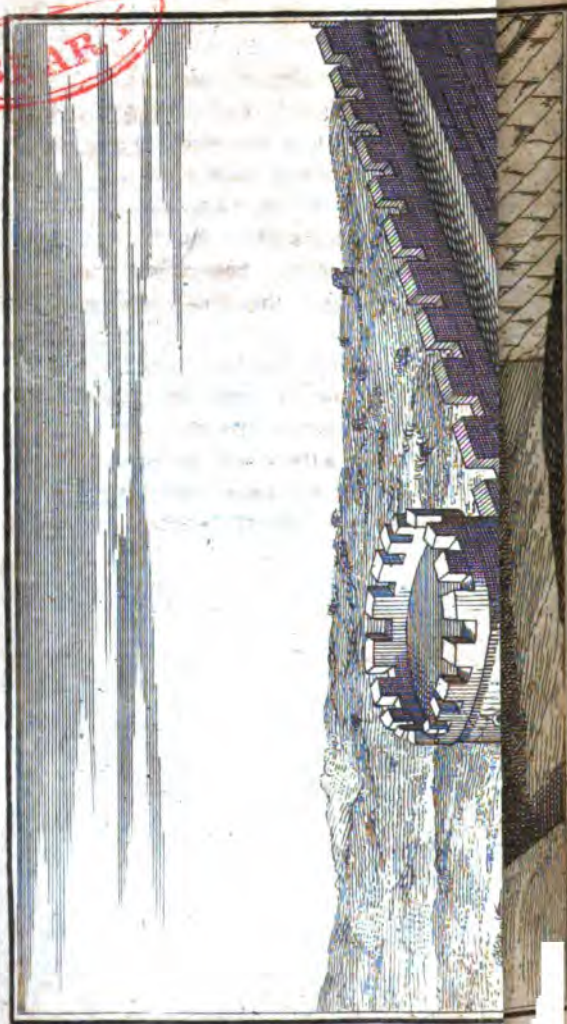
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Plat. 1007.



*Pointe Commalesse Cannon for breaking the blow of the Batteries Ramen*



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### PLATE XXIV.- explained.

*Double corvus. (or crane) for breaking the blow of the battering ram.*

THIS machine was used at the famous siege of Plataea. Thucydides says: "They made use of this artifice: They fastened a large beam by the two ends to long iron chains. Those chains were at the ends of two long timbers, that projected over the wall. As the ram was thrust forward to batter it, they raised the beam in the air, and then let it fall cross-wise with its whole weight upon the head of the ram, which rendered its blow ineffectual."

Livy is not in the wrong for reckoning this machine amongst the corvi or cranes. It was two cranes, as in the plate, with their extremities within the walls. They turned upon their axes on the same line, at something less than the distance of the beam suspended; and broke the blows of the ram, in raising up the beam, and letting it fall upon it. There are many examples of this machine to be found in history.

PLATE

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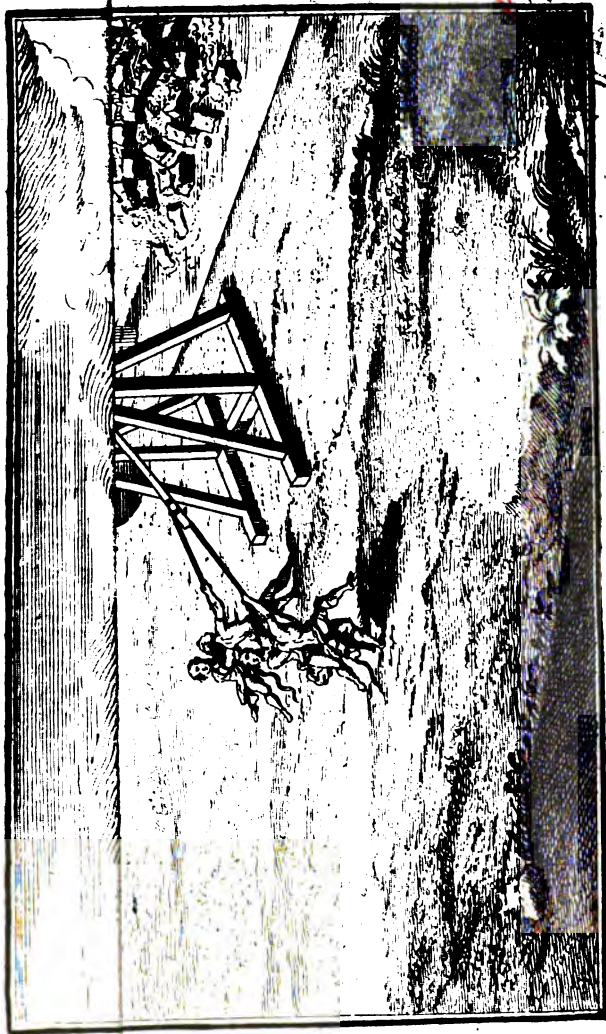
### PLATE XXV. explained.

*Corvus or grane for demolishing walls.*

VITRUVIUS speaks of the *demolishing corvus* of Diados, which seems to be the same machine Vegetius calls a tortoise. Within this tortoise were one or two pieces of wood made round and very long for reaching a great way. At the end (3) they had strong hooks of iron, and were hung or suspended upon an equilibrium like the rams. They were applied either to the battlements or the parts of the wall loosened by the ram to pull them down.

Cæsar mentions this machine in his *Commentaries*, where he says, "that the Gauls, besieged in Bourges, turned aside the hooks, with which the ruins of the works were pulled down, and, after having seized them with their machines, drew them up to the tops of the walls."

Plate XIV.

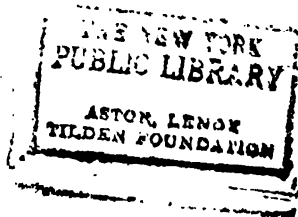


Corvus (or Crane) for demolishing Walls.



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*Crane for Crane (with Claws to take up men in scaling or upon assaults.*

## P L A T E XXVI, explained.

*Corvus (or crane) with claws, to take up men in scaling, or upon assaults.*

THE machine mentioned by Tacitus in the war of Civilis was a real corvus, the ancients having given it that name. The Romans, when attacked in their camp by the army of that rebel, made use of all the artifices invented by the ancients for the defence of the strongest and best fortified cities. "As the Romans were superior in address and experience, says that author, they opposed the inventions of the enemy with others of their own, and made a pendent machine, which, being let down, caught up the assailants, and threw them with a sudden turn upon the ramparts." Many may imagine this a very mysterious machine, but the plate sufficiently shews that nothing is less so. Vitruvius is of the same opinion, who says, *As to the crane for hoisting up men, I do not think it necessary to say any thing, being perfectly easy to form, and usually made by the soldiers themselves.* I am surprised, says Mr. Follard, that Tacitus should call so known a machine an *invention* in the above-cited passage, when Polybius, and all the historians after him, tell us, that Archimedes used it at the siege of Syracuse. After having mentioned the losses which the Romans sustained by the great machines of Archimedes, Polybius adds, "without including those occasioned by the iron hooks, which caught up the troops, and either dashed them against the ground, or plunged them into the sea."

## P L A T E XXVII. explained.

*Corvus (or crane) with a cage, or the tellenon, used by the antients for lifting men to the top of works.*

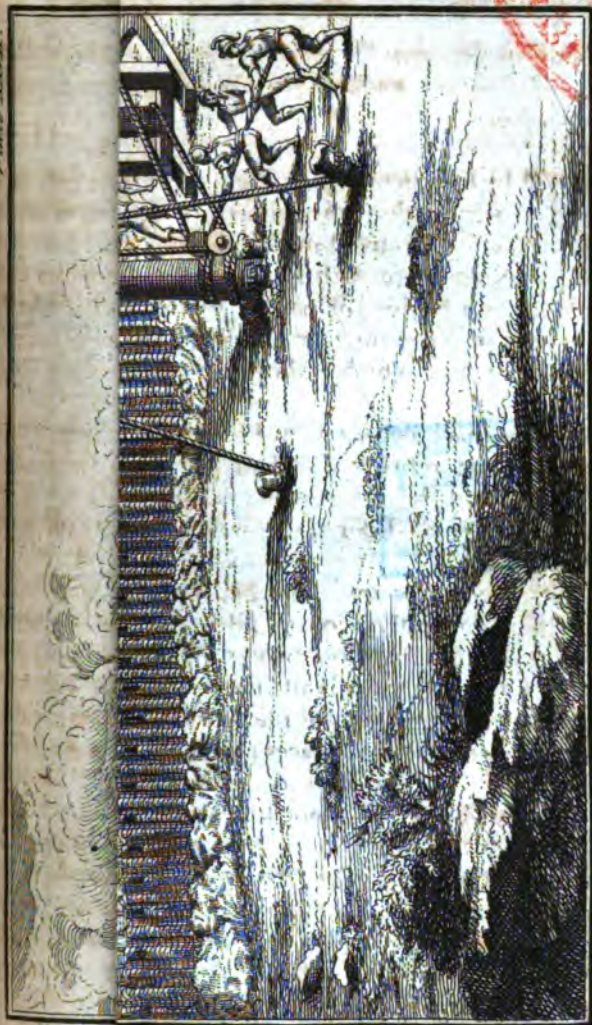
**T**HE tellenon, as Vegetius represents it, is very seldom mentioned in the sieges of the antients. The machine suspended must have been of a square form with a door in the front of it, and let down as a bridge for passing to the wall. The tellenon of Vegetius is manifestly such as represented in this plate, which sufficiently explains the nature of it.

The machine, used by Herod to dislodge a great number of robbers who had fled into the caverns of certain rocks and mountains, was of this kind: the passage of Josephus is worthy the reader's curiosity.

“ These caverns, says he, were in vast mountains inaccessible on all sides. There was no approaching them but by very narrow winding paths on the side of a vast steep rock in the front, which extended to the bottom of the valley, broken in several places by the impetuosity of torrents. A situation of such strength surprised Herod, who did not know how to put his enterprise in execution. He at length thought of a method unknown before. He caused soldiers to be let down in square chests of great strength to the entrance of the caverns, who killed the robbers with their families that were in them, and put fire into those where these sculked who would not surrender: so that this race of thieves

“ were





Corvus (or Crane) with a Cage or the Tellenom used by the Ancients for  
lifting men to the top of works.



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"were soon destroyed either by the sword, fire, or smoke." But to return to our tellennon.

It is not to be believed, that this machine was invented for raising and throwing men upon the towers and walls of besieged places; unless we suppose, that a multiplicity of these machines might be of great service, when placed near one another: but, as there is no mention of that in any historian, it is probable that this kind of corvus was intended for discovering what the besieged were doing upon the towers and within the walls, for which purpose one man sufficed as well as four.

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### SECT. IV.

#### *Moving Towers.*

**V**EGETIUS describes these towers in a *Veget. de re milit.* manner that gives a sufficiently clear idea of them. The moving towers, says that author, are made of an assemblage of beams and strong planks, not unlike an house. To secure them against the fires thrown by the besieged, they are covered with raw hides, or with pieces of cloth made of hair. Their height is in proportion to that of their base. They are sometimes thirty feet square, and sometimes forty or fifty. They are higher than the walls or even towers of the city. They are supported upon several wheels according to mechanic principles, by the means of which the machine is easily made to move, how great soever it may be. The town is in great danger, if this tower can approach the walls. For it has stairs from one story to another, and includes different methods of attack. At bottom it has a ram to batter the wall, and on

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the middle story a draw-bridge, made of two beams with rails of basket-work, which lets down easily upon the wall of a city, when within the reach of it. The besiegers pass upon this bridge, to make themselves masters of the wall. Upon the higher stories are soldiers armed with partisans and missile weapons, who keep a perpetual discharge upon the works. When affairs are in this posture, a place seldom holds out long. For what can they hope who have nothing to confide in but the height of their ramparts, when they see others suddenly appear which command them?

## P L A T E XXVIII. explained.

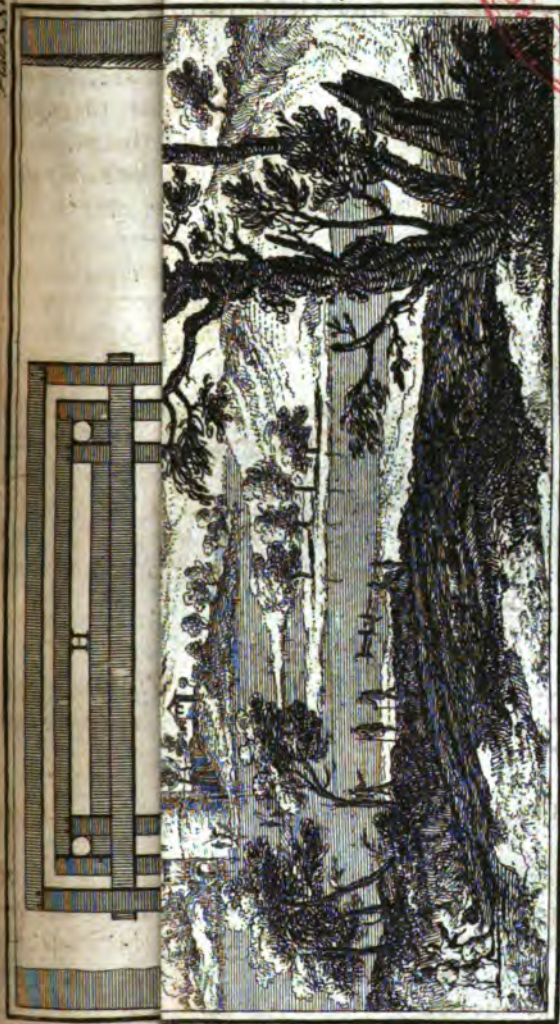
**A**S the moving towers of the antients were the most stupendous machines they used in war, it was thought proper to give an idea of their structure, and the mechanic powers for moving them, in the following seven plates and plans of some of the most extraordinary mentioned in antient history.

*Plan of the base of the belepolis of Demetrius supported upon wheels with their axis turning upon a pivot.*

**T**HIS plan relates to the moving tower in plate XXXI.

A are beams laid cross each other at the base of the tower. They projected three or four feet beyond the lower frame or base, to facilitate the moving of the machine, when it arrived near the fosse of the besieged place, and the cordage could work

Plan. XXVII.



Plan of the Base of the Helopolis of Demetrius, supported upon wheels in their axis turning upon a pivot



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work no longer: Besides which, this projection served to cover the wheels against the shot of the machines, and to prevent it from overturning, in case the wheels sunk in some bad way, as it sometimes happened.

B and C represent the pieces of wood for the pivot and frame to receive the axis of the wheel D. These pieces were of a solidity proportioned to the weight they sustained: the upper part E was not so large as the lower C, in order to its forming a pivot B, that went through the two sides of the base. This is Mr. Perrault's explanation of what Vitruvius call *Amaxapodes*. The ledge F must have been very large to support the enormous weight of the tower; and, as the wheel was two cubits or three feet from the axis to the extremity, the pivot and frame B C must have been made of three pieces of wood, strongly joined together with great art, and strengthened with bindings of iron G.

The frame of the base, therefore, must have been composed of eight great beams on the four sides H, to receive the *Amaxapodes* or pivot and frame. The Chevallier Follard says, that he does not see how this sort of wheels with their pivots, being so few, could move every way without breaking in the mortise or hole in which the axle turns: He adds, that he chuses rather to believe these wheels an imagination of Vitruvius.

P L A T E XXIX. explained.

*Towers with bridges of the emperor Frederic I.  
Jerusalem.*

**T**HIS plate represents two towers before the walls of the city, each having a bridge composed of several long beams covered with planks, and equal in breadth to the tower, in order to receive a greater front of assailants.

(3) Shews the bridge drawn up against the tower, beginning at the first story, in order to be let down in a parallel line with the top of the wall.

(4) The cables or chains, by which that enormous draw-bridge was let down when at a great distance.

(5) The bridge let down, and the troops passing to the wall.



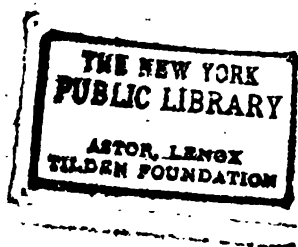


*V.I. at Jerusalem.*

*W. H. Fome Sculp.*

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Plan. XII.



W. B. Toms Sculp.  
e powers for moving it.

## P L A T E XXX. explained.

*Cæsar's moving tower at the siege of Namur, with the powers for moving it.*

THE people of Namur demanded to capitulate, when they saw the prodigious tower A, of which they had made a jest, whilst it was building at a considerable distance from their walls, move towards them very fast. "They believed this a prodigy, says Cæsar, and were astonished; that such little people, as we seemed to them, should think of carrying so vast and heavy a machine to their walls." It is no wonder they were surprised, as they had never seen nor heard of any such thing, and as this tower seemed to advance by enchantment and of itself, the mechanic powers that moved it being imperceptible to those of the place. The deputies, whom they sent to Cæsar, said, that they believed the Romans must be assisted by the gods in their wars, who could make machines of so enormous a size advance so swiftly to command their walls. *Non se existimare Romanos sine ope deorum bellum gerere, qui ex tantæ multitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promoverè, & ex propinquitate pugnare possent.*

In the following plate, this tower, and the powers for moving it, are explained at large.

## P L A T E XXXI. explained.

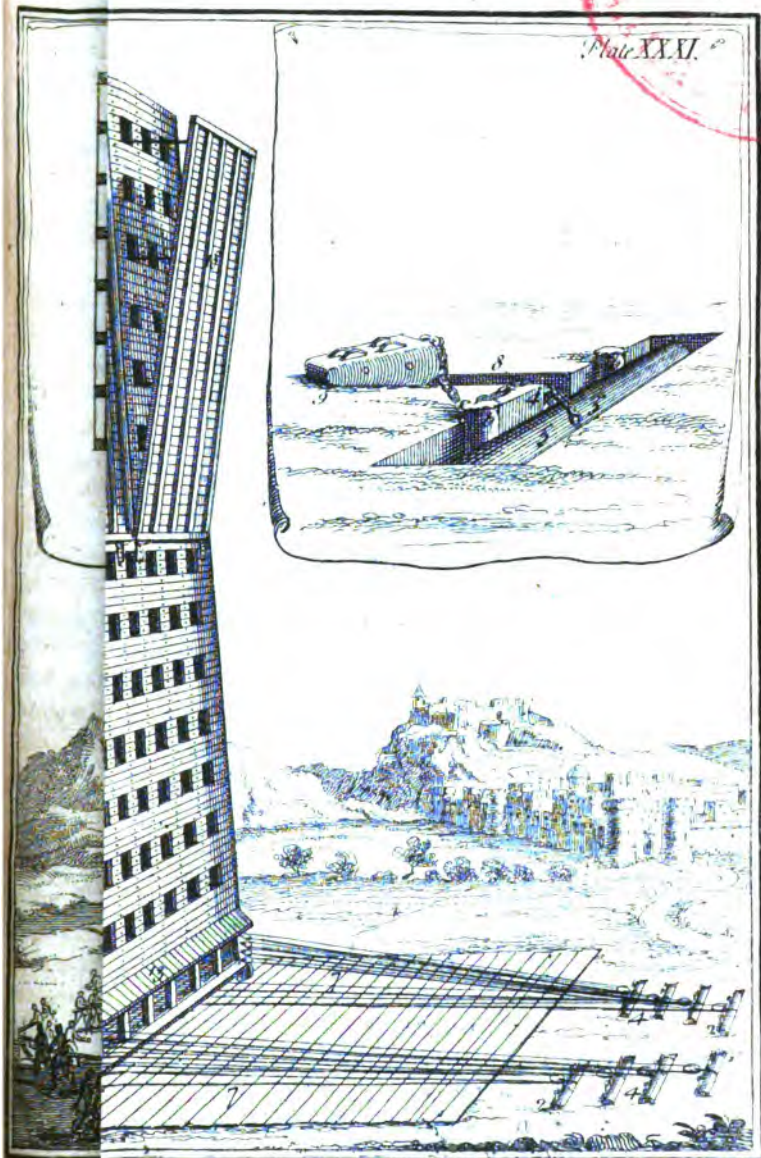
*Helepolis of Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the siege of Rhodes, with its two draw-bridges.*

THE description of this plate includes that of the last.

The machines, like that in the foregoing plate and this, were erected upon cylinders, in the nature of rollers (2), laid a-cross upon a platform (3), composed of flat beams covered with thick planks: when it was to move several small trenches were cut in the ground (4), disposed in the manner of a quin-cunx, from three to four feet in length by as many in breadth, parallel to the tower: in each of these trenches a large round piece of oak (5) was laid length-ways, supported by four strong stakes (6) driven obliquely a good depth into the ground, which hindered the cross-piece (5) from breaking the earth when drawn by the cables (7) that were made as fast to it as possible. Let us imagine the cross-piece in the ground with four or two stake against it, according to the nature of the soil, supposing that one stake, how deep soever driven in the earth, could sustain the draught of the machine, that must have inevitably pulled it up; besides which, the following method is much more simple, and more capable of bearing the force of the cords. But as the cables were each of them drawn level with the piece of timber (5), it was necessary to make a cut in the earth, of the same depth and breadth as the trench (4), in the shape of the letter T: without which precaution the cable in drawing against the side of the trench would have drawn the cross-piece (5) out of its place.

In the centre of these cross-pieces strong levers were fastened, to which pulleys with double

Plate XXVI.



Two Drawbridges.

W. H. Tomes Sculp.

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treble wheels (9) were hooked, fitted with cables, to which others answered (10), that were made fast in the same manner to the beams at the bottom of the tower; each of these pullies had hooks at the ends of them, to put on and take off from time to time.

After having fixed these pullies to the loops of the cross-pieces in the trenches and to the towers, with their cables in them, they were let loose, and not strained, till each of the cables were made fast to the same number of windlasses or capstanes (11), which were more or less according to the magnitude of the machine, several men turning at each of their arms; but it was necessary for them to work the windlasses or capstanes exactly together, that all the cables might have their effect at one and the same motion; without this agreement in the moving powers, the machine would have turned sometimes towards one side, and sometimes towards the other.

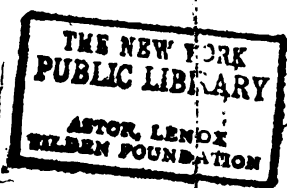
It moved forwards upon rollers or cylinders. There were men within (12), and others without, who took away the roller, as the tower left it behind in advancing; those within pushed the rollers before the tower, as fast as it quitted them behind; so that it continually went on upon the same number of rollers. When the tower came near the cross-beams in the trenches, they unhooked the pullies from the loops, and carried them with the cables to other trenches, cut at the same distance as the former; there they hooked the pullies on again as at first, after having brought forwards the windlasses or capstanes to the proper distance: and this was repeated, till the tower arrived on the side of the fosse of the place besieged, without any danger to the workmen, or the enemy's perceiving the powers that moved the machine, the windlasses, &c. being behind it: for when they approached

the walls, those who turned them worked under cover, and behind the hurdles or fence-work of the lines of approach.

These the Chevalier Follard conjectures to have been the mechanic principles for moving great towers; which, he adds, do not only seem very simple, but argue the *santa coleritate* of Cæsar. The pent-house (13) that moved up and down at the discretion of those within, was to cover the men in bringing forward the rollers to the front of the tower: it is left open purposely in the plate to shew their manner of working within the machine.

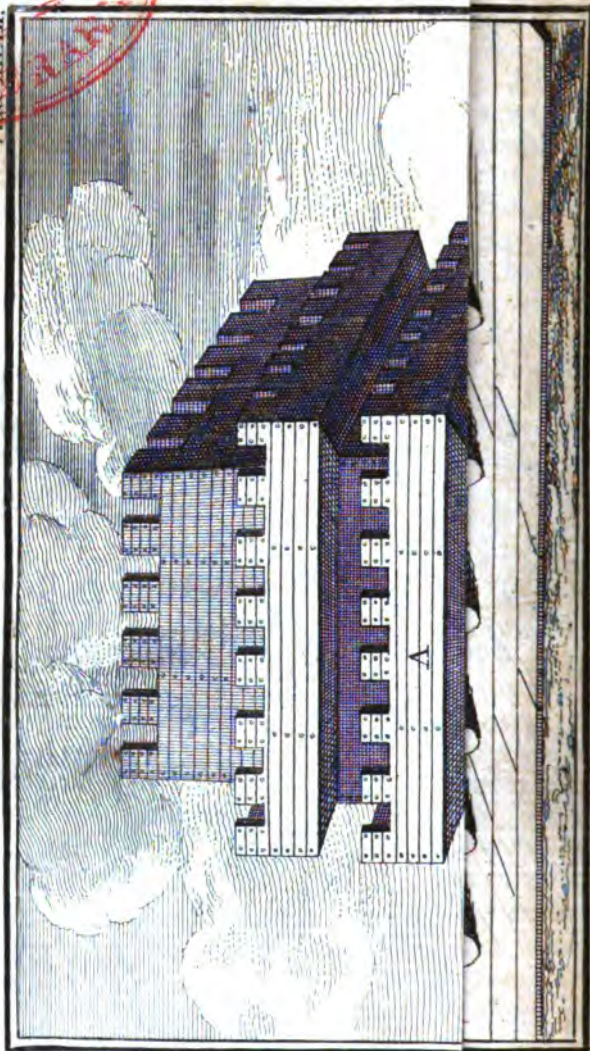
He continues, that it is his opinion the same mechanic powers were as likely to be used in moving small towers as great ones: though it is possible, that the latter had wheels (16), with this difference, that a greater force was required for making them go forwards; and consequently, that the cables should go under the machine, as in the helepolis with wheels. Though Diodorus pretends that this last machine went upon eight wheels, I have given it sixteen, because to me it seems impossible for it to move upon eight; and I have placed its two bridges (18) at the middle story, which it is not improbable were let down and drawn up by capstanes.

Had the rollers, upon which these towers moved, been turned by levers, the same learned commentator upon Polybius says they could not have made two yards a day, which he proves by the example of Vitiges, the Goth, at the siege of Rome, defended by Belisarius, as related by Procopius.



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PLATE XXXVII



Tower with corridors or Galleries & a Hall not suspended.

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

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### PLATE XXXII. explained.

*Tower with corridors or galleries, and a ram not suspended.*

THE corridors or galleries (A) that surround this tower at each story, were intended to prevent its being set on fire ; and, indeed, nothing could have been better invented for that purpose, those galleries being full of troops, armed with missive weapons, who made their discharges from behind the kind of parapets or battlements (B), and were always ready to pull out the darts of fire, and extinguish all other combustibles thrown against the tower ; so that it was impossible for the fire to make the least progress, the remedy being always at hand. These corridors were built upon beams that projected five or six feet beyond the tower ; several of which kind are still to be seen upon Trajan's column.

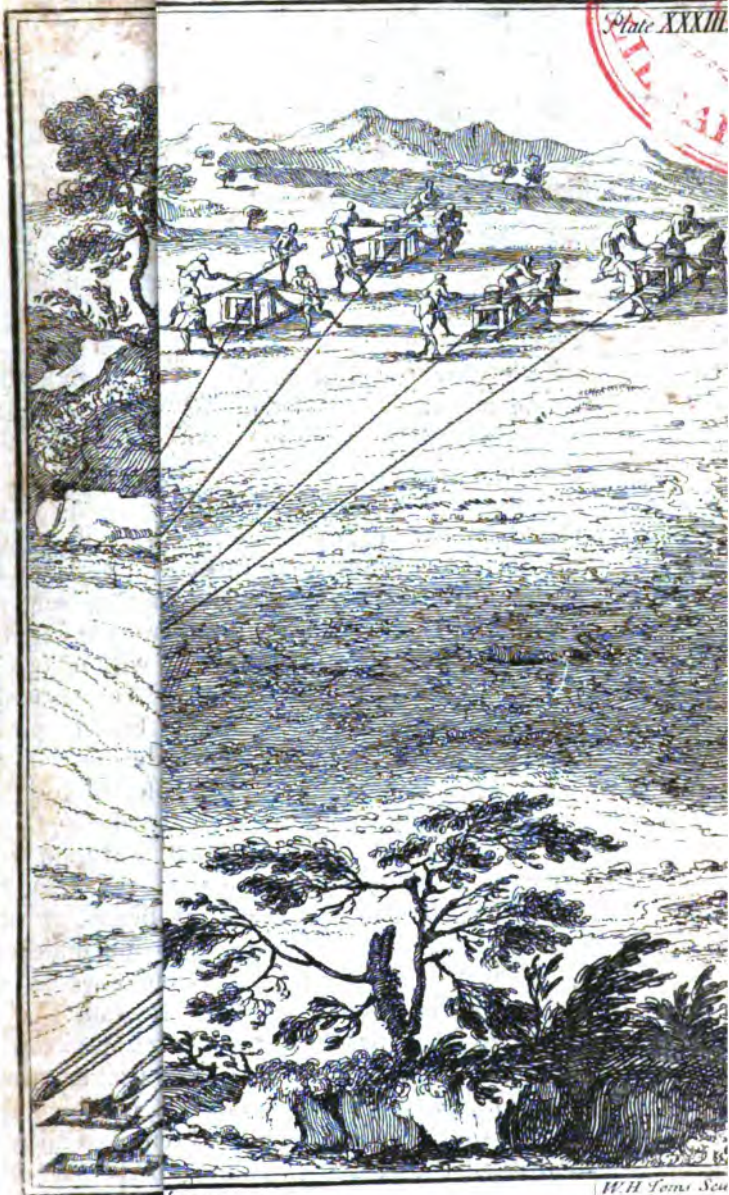
PLATE

## P L A T E XXXIII. explained.

*Tower of stone moved from one place to another by an architect of Boulogne.*

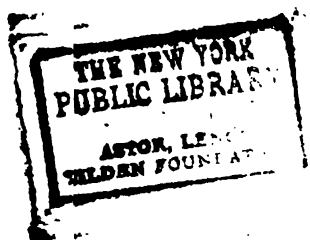
**I**T is supposed, that this architect must have taken the following method for removing this tower. He began by making cuts in it at the bottom, level with the ground on all sides, and exactly facing one another. These cuts were wide enough to receive several large square beams, prepared beforehand to form a double frame, and serve as a base to the tower; these beams thus laid, and projecting six feet on each side of the base of the tower, other cross-beams were carried through the cuts in the other sides (3), and laid chequer-wise as a square base (5). All these beams were inserted, at the ends, into four other beams (6) with tenons and mortises, and into each other by cuts hewed in them, at which they were made firm by tenons. This double frame, upon which the tower was to move, and which served it as a base, should have projected five or six feet beyond the tower. All this being done in the strongest and most exact manner, the whole was raised on the four sides with levers, and long cylindrical beams or rollers (7), all equal in their diameters, put under. A platform was then laid of beams covered with strong planks, and the parts of the wall, that still supported the tower in the spaces between the beams of the base, were sapped and taken away as level with the rest of the bottom as possible: these parts of the wall thus sapped and removed all at the same time, the tower being fixed on the base of the beams, and those on the rollers, nothing remained but

PLATE XXXIII



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W.H. Towns Sen





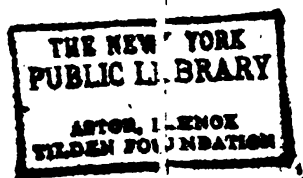
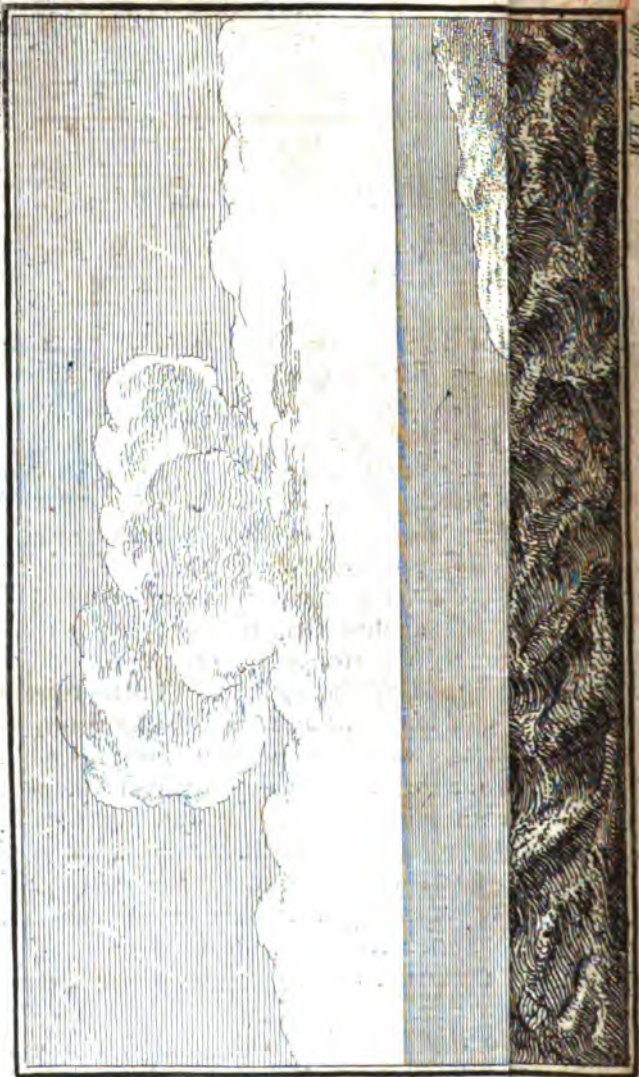


Plate XXXV



*Floating Towers & Galleries of Demetrius at the Siege of Rhodes.*

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

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out to set it in motion by the same mechanic powers as are described in moving the helepolis, increasing the number of pullies and windlasses to the force necessary, and adding a greater number of rollers than it had at first.

### PLATE XXXIV. explained.

*Floating towers and galleries of Demetrius at the siege of Rhodes.*

**D**EMETRIUS caused two tortoises to be built upon flat-bottomed vessels, for approaching the nearer to the places he had occasion to batter. Those machines may be called *Floating Tortoises* (2), the one to cover his troops against the enormous weight, thrown by the besieged from the tops of their walls and towers, or discharged by the catapults planted at the bottom of them. The other (3) was covered at top with timber-work of something less solidity than the first, and was intended to shelter the troops against the arrows and darts discharged by the balista's. These two tortoises were in a line, and at some distance from each other. There were also two vessels or *prahms* in the front of the tortoises or galleries, upon which two towers with battering rams (4) were erected, each of four stories, and higher than those that defended the entrance of the port. These floating towers were intended to batter those of the port, whilst the troops from the several stories discharged perpetually on the enemy that appeared on the walls.

As these four floating machines were intended, at least those with the rams, to batter the two towers that defended the entrance of the port, and Demetrius

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

metrius was in hopes of carrying the place by the port, which could not be taken but by attacking the two branches of the mole, on the side next the main, at the same time, with a great body of troops well provided for that service, he at last thought of this, as the most happy method that could be imagined.

He commanded a number of his least, but strongest ships(5) to be drawn up in a line, on the sides of the mole, at a certain distance from each other; over these he built a covered gallery (6), with doors along the sides of it for going in and out. Within this gallery he posted a great body of soldiers and archers, that could be immediately reinforced from his other ships, as the occasions in attacking the mole should require.

Notwithstanding many surprising inventions of the same nature, the Rhodians obliged him to raise the siege, after he had been a year before the place.

See the history of this siege Vol. VIII. of this work.

## ARTICLE III.

*Attack and defence of places.*

I Join the attack and defence of places together, in order to abridge this subject, which of itself is very extensive : I shall even treat only on the most essential parts of it, and that in as brief a manner as possible.

## S E C T. I.

*Lines of circumvallation and countervallation.*

WHEN the cities were extremely strong and populous, they were surrounded with a fosse and intrenchment against the besieged, and by another fosse on the side next the country against the troops, which might come to the aid of the place ; and these were called lines of circumvallation and countervallation. The besiegers pitched their camp between these two lines. Those of countervallation were against the besieged city, the others against attempts from without.

When it was foreseen that the siege would be of long duration, it was often changed into a blockade, and then the two lines in question were solid walls of strong masonry, flanked with towers at proper distances. There is a very sensible example of this at the siege of Plataea by the Lacedaemonians and Thebans, of which Thucydides has left us a long description : “ The two surrounding lines were composed of two walls sixteen feet distant, and the soldiers lay in that space, which was divided into quarters : so that it might have been taken for only one wall, with high towers

Thucyd.  
l. 2. p. 147.  
&c.

“ towers from distance to distance; which occupied  
 “ the whole interval, in order to enable the be-  
 “ siegers to defend at the same time against those  
 “ within and those without. The quarters of the  
 “ soldiers could not be gone round without cross-  
 “ ing the towers of the wall, and the top of the  
 “ wall was skirted with a parapet of osier. There  
 “ was a fosse, on each side of which, the earth had  
 “ been used to make bricks for the wall.” In this  
 manner Thucydides describes these two surround-  
 ing walls, which were of no very great circumfe-  
 rence, the city being very small. I have elsewhere  
 related, with sufficient extent, the history of this  
 siege, or rather blockade, very famous amongst  
 the ancients; and have observed in what manner,  
 notwithstanding these fortifications, part of the  
 garrison escaped.

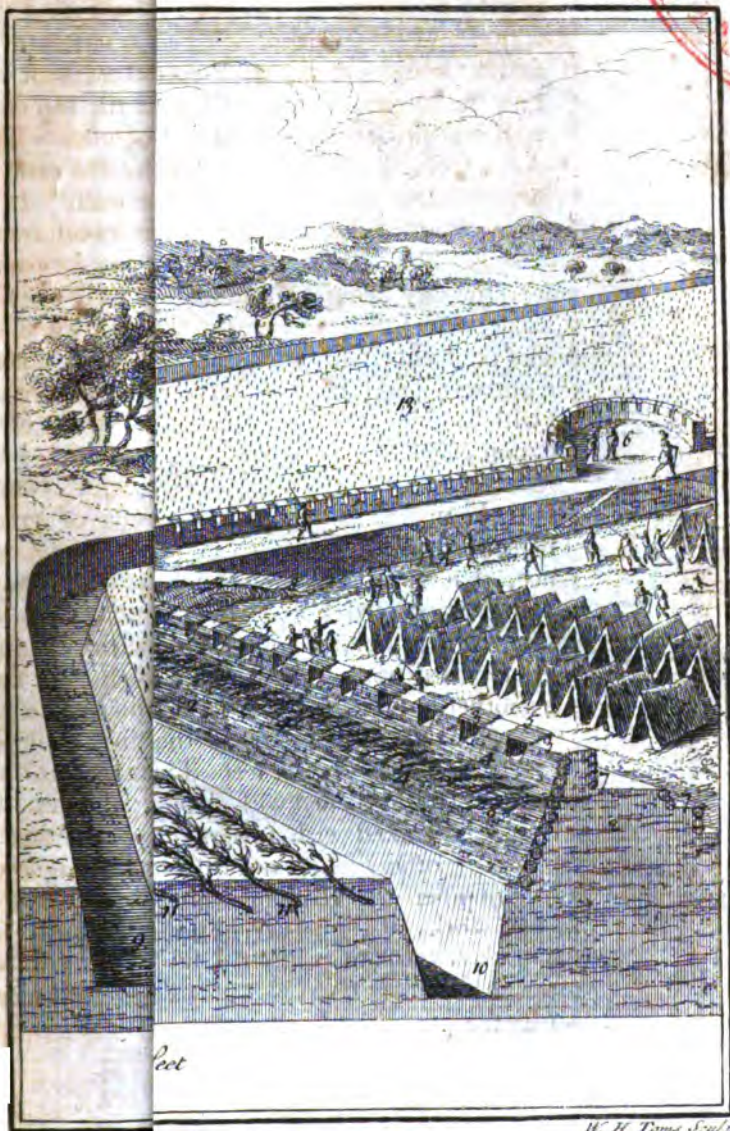
Vol. III.  
 Book VI.  
 Chap. V.

Appian. in  
 Iberic.  
 p. 306.

The camp of the Roman army before Numan-  
 tia took up a much greater extent of ground.  
 That city was four and twenty stadia in circumfe-  
 rence, that is to say, a league. Scipio, when he  
 invested it, caused a line of circumvallation to be  
 drawn, which inclosed more than twice the ground  
 the city stood upon. When this work was finish-  
 ed, another line was thrown up against the besieged,  
 at a reasonable distance from the first, composed  
 of a rampart of eight feet thick by ten high,  
 which was strengthened with strong palisades. The  
 whole was flanked with towers of an hundred feet  
 from each other. It is not easy to comprehend in  
 what manner the Romans completed these im-  
 mense works; a line of circumvallation of more  
 than two leagues in compass: but nothing is more  
 certain than these facts. Let us now advance to-  
 wards the place.



Plate XXXI.



Protestant Alaxia

W. H. Stone Sculp.

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## P L A T E XXXV. explained.

*Profile of part of the circumvallation with its fosse, and advanced fosse of Cæsar's camp before Alexia.*

THE work (2) was formed of fascines instead of turf, with its parapet (3), and fraise (4), made of large stakes, with their branches cut in points, and burnt at the ends like a stag's horns; they seemed like wings at the foot of the parapet, or like the oars of a galley inclining downwards. Of the same nature are the fraises of the moderns, that are far from being so well imagined, and are smooth-pointed palisades bending downwards to prevent scaling. The moderns fix them in the same manner at the bottom of the parapet, where they form a kind of cincture very agreeable to the eye. The battlements, mentioned by Cæsar, were like the modern embrasures for cannon (5); here the archers were placed. Upon the parapet of the towers (6), field balista's were planted to flank the works. These towers were not always of wood, but sometimes of earth covered with turf, or strengthened with fascines. They were much higher than the rest of the intrenchment, and sometimes had towers of wood raised upon them, for battering the places that commanded the camp.

Some authors have believed that these intrenchments and works of the antients in the field, like those of masonry, were perpendicular; but that opinion is very absurd. These had a platform with its talus or slope, and sometimes banquette's (7) in the form of steps for ascending; besides which, at the towers, there were ways made (8) to go up. All this was indispensably necessary in Cæsar's lines, as they were very high, to prevent the earth from falling away. Thus much for the two lines of circum-

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

cumvallation. We proceed to the ground inclosed between the two fosses (9) and (10), which is far the most curious part of this celebrated blockade, and will be best explained in Cæsar's own words.

"As the soldiers were employed at the same time to fetch wood and provisions from a considerable distance, and to work at the fortifications, and the enemy often sallied at several gates to interrupt the work; Cæsar found it necessary — make some addition to his lines, that they might not require so many men to guard them. He therefore took trees of no great height, or large branches, which he caused to be made sharp at the ends, and running, a trench of five feet deep before the lines, he ordered them to be put into it, and made fast at bottom, so that they could not be pulled up. This trench was again filled up in such a manner, that nothing but the branches of the head (11) appeared; of which the points must have run into those who should have endeavoured to pass them: as there were five rows of them (11) interwoven in a manner with each other, they were unavoidable. In the front of these he caused pits of three feet deep to be dug in the form of the quincunx (12). In these pits he fixed strong stakes, burnt and sharpened at the top, which rose only four inches above the level of the ground, into which they were planted three feet deeper than the pits, for the sake of firmness. The pits were covered over with bushes to deceive the enemy. There were eight rows of them, at the distance of three feet from each other. In the front of all he sowed the whole space between the pits and the advanced fosse (9) with crows feet of an extraordinary size (13), which the soldiers called *spurs*." The other line, to prevent succours from without, was entirely the same with this.

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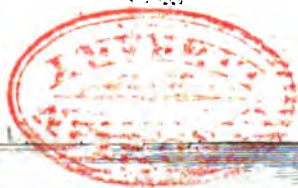
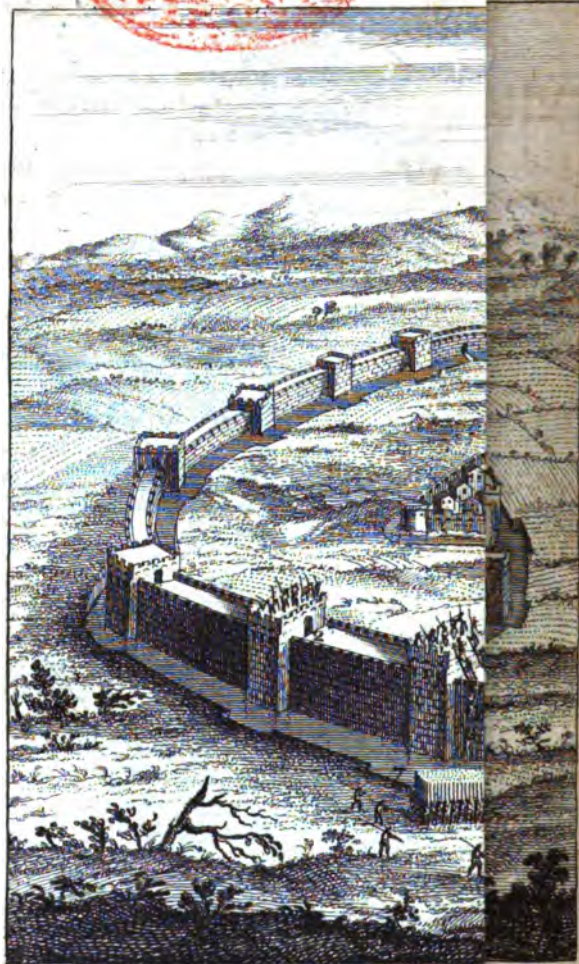


Plate XXXVI.



Blockade of

## P L A T E XXXVI. explained.

*Blockade of Plataea by a double line of masonry surrounding it.*

**T**HIS siege is related in the third volume of this history.

(2) Is the platform or terrafs upon the top and between the two walls, which were sixteen feet afunder.

The garrison of Plataea (7) made use of ladders in efcaping over these works, which they applied to the inward wall. After they had got upon the platform (2), and feized the two towers (4) (5), they drew up the ladders, and let them down on the other fide of the outward wall (6), by which they defcended to the bottom, drawing up in line of battle as faft as they came down (7); in which manner, by the favour of a dark night, they marched to Athens.

## P L A T E XXXVH. explained.

*Celebrated blockade of Numantia, with its two surrounding lines.*

(2) **T**HE first line of circumvallation next the country.

(3) The other line next the place.

(4) The rampart.

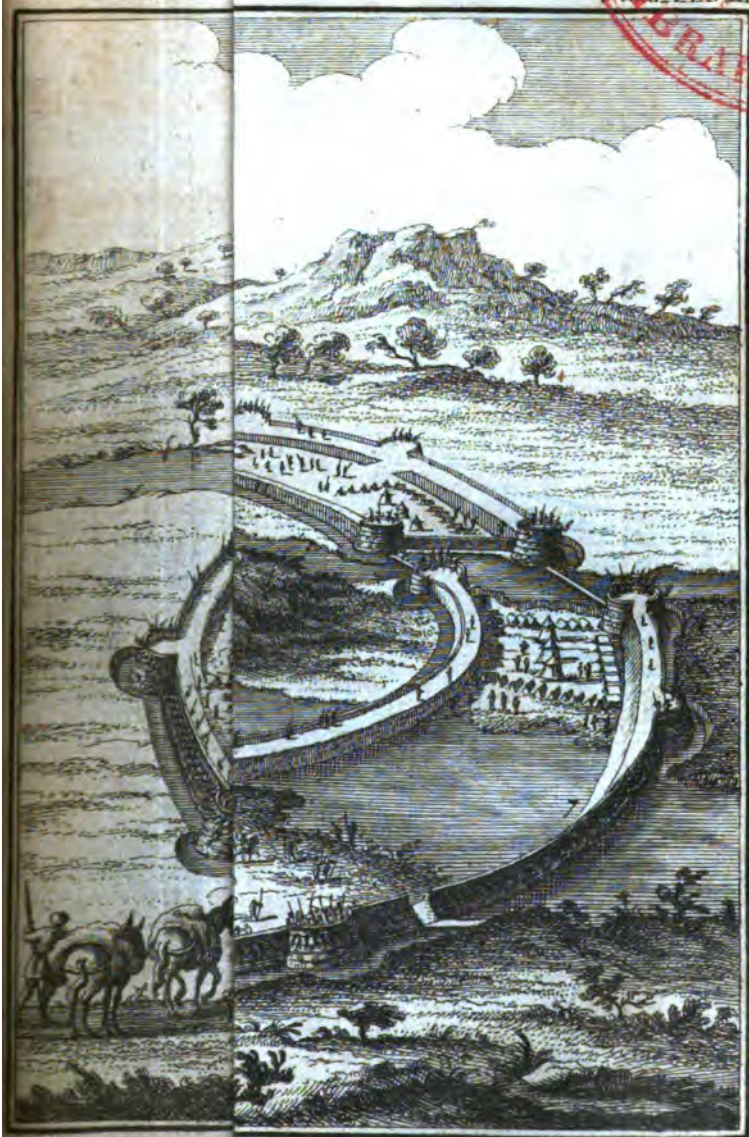
(5) The palisades in the nature of a fraise.

(6) The towers at an hundred feet distance from each other.

(7) A bank or mole over a marsh, with a parapet upon it equal to the height of the wall.

(8) The four ports Scipio caused to be erected upon the banks of the river Duæra contiguous to the lines.

(9) A stoccado, or chain of floating beams, pierced through cross-wise with long stakes pointed with iron, to prevent barks from entering; and divers from getting any intelligence of what was doing in the camp.



lines.

W. H. Pons. Sculp.

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## S E C T. II.

*Approach of the camp to the body of the place.*

**T**HOUGH trenches, oblique lines, mines, and other the like inventions, seem neither often nor clearly expressed in authors, we can hardly doubt with reason, that they were not in use amongst the Greeks and Romans. Is it probable, that, with the ancients, whose generals, amongst their other excellent qualities, had that of taking great care to spare the blood and lives of their soldiers, approaches were made in besieging, without any precautions against the machines of the besieged, whose ramparts were so well provided, and defence so bloody? Though there is no mention of this in any of the historians, who might possibly, in the description of sieges, omit this circumstance, as well known to all the world; we should not conclude, that such able generals either did not know, or neglected, things, on the one side so important, and on the other so easy; and which must naturally have entered the thoughts of every man ever so little versed in attacking places. But several historians speak of them; of which one shall serve for all the rest: this is Polybius, where he relates the siege of the city of Echinna by Philip. He concludes the description Polyb. l. 9. of it with these words: *To cover from the arrows of the besieged, as well those who went from the camp to the works, as those who returned from the works to the camp, trenches were drawn \* from the camp to the towers; and those trenches covered at top.*

\* Σόφιστος καὶ ἀστυνοί. Suidas understands, by σόφιστος, a long trench: ἐμπάντης διαφύξ, fossa longa. Longus cuniculus, & mea us subterraneus.

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

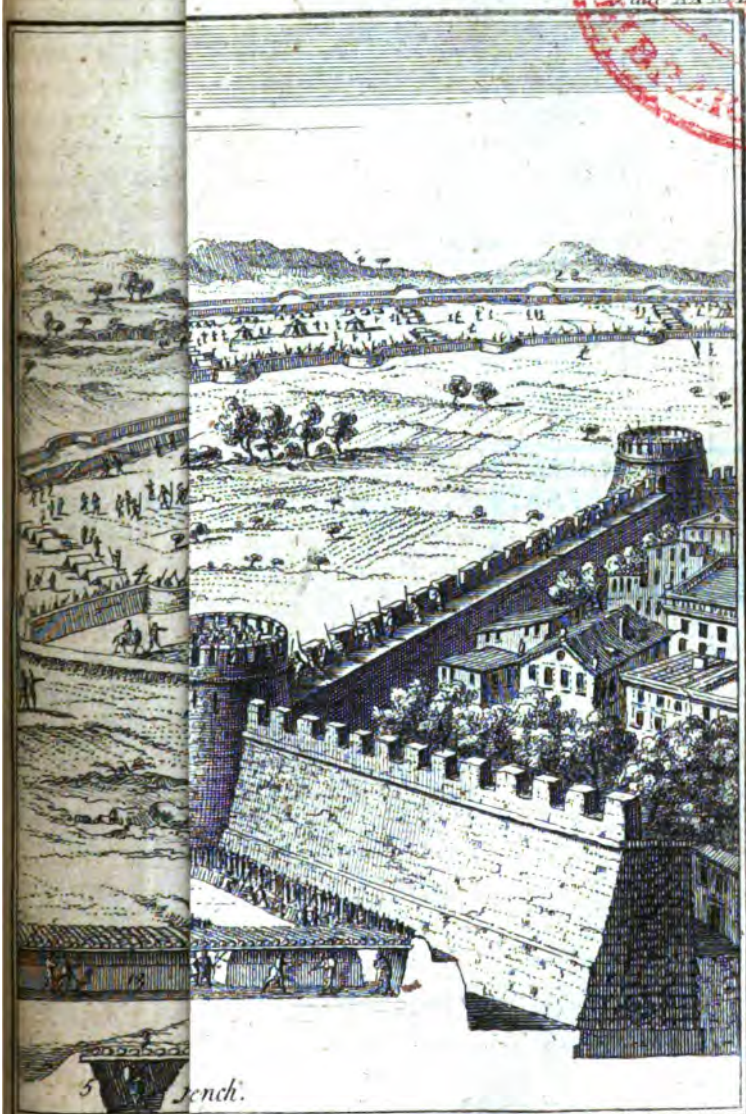
Long before Philip, Demetrius Poliorcetes had used the same method at the siege of Rhodes. Dio-dorus Siculus tells us, *that famous warrior caused tortoises, and galleries, cut in the earth, or covered mines, to be made, for communication with the batteries of rams; and ordered a trench with blinds overhead, to cover and secure the troops in going and coming from the towers and tortoises. The seamen and marines were appointed for this service; the work was four stadia in length, that is to say, five hundred paces.*

## P L A T E XXXVIII. explained.

*Trenches and galleries of approach of the antients.*

**T**HE approaches of the antients, says Mr. Fol-lard, were not entirely like those of the moderns, nor so deep in the earth, the fire from our works being of a quite different nature from that of the balista's and catapulta's, though surprisingly violent.

It is certain, that they went under cover from their camp to their batteries, and used more or less precaution, according to the strength and valour of the besieged, and the number of their machines, by which they regulated the form of their approaches or trenches. These were of two sorts. The first were composed of a blind (2) of fascines or strong hurdles, placed on the side of each other without any space between them; so that they formed a kind of wall of five or six feet high, with loop-holes cut from space to space between the fascines or through the hurdles. To support this blind, it is supposed they planted forked pieces of wood in the ground, upon which long  
poles



W. H. Toms Sculp.

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poles were laid cross-wise, with the fascines or hurdles made fast to them.

There was another kind of approaches very different from the former; these were several trenches or galleries of communication covered at top (3), drawn in a right line from the camp (4) to the works, or to the parallels (2) not much unlike ours. These galleries of communication, of which there is a side view or profile in the plate (5), were cut ten or twelve feet broad in the earth. The workmen threw up the earth on both sides, which they supported with fascines, and covered the space with hurdles and earth, laid upon by poles and rafters. The whole length of these galleries in the earth, they cut loop-holes through the sides and issues (6) to go out at. On the sides of these covered trenches or communications were esplanades, or places of arms, which extended the whole front of the attack. These places were spacious, and capable of containing a great body of troops in order of battle: for here they were posted to support their towers, tortoises, and batteries of rams, ballista's, and catapulta's, against the sallies of the besieged.

The first parallel trench (2), next the body of the place, was drawn along the side of the fosse, and served as a communication to the battering towers and tortoises (7) of the besiegers. This sort of communications to the moving towers were sometimes covered at top by a blind of hurdles or fascines; because, as they ran along the side of the counterscarp, they were exposed to the downright discharges of the towers and ramparts of the besieged. Loop-holes were cut in the sides of them, through which the besiegers fired perpetually upon the works. These covered lines served besides for filling up the fosses, and had passages of communication (7) with the battering tortoises cut in them,

which tortoisés were pushed forwards upon the part of the fosse filled up (8). When the walls of a place were not high, these trenches were not covered with blinds either at top or in front, but only with a parapet of the earth dug out of them, like those of the moderns.

At some distance from this parallel, another was cut behind it, which left a space between them of the nature of our esplanades or places of arms: here the batteries of balista's and catapulta's were erected, which differed from ours in being higher. There was sometimes a third upon the same parallel line: these places of arms contained all the troops that guarded the works; the lines communicated by the galleries or trenches covered at top.

(13) Represents the inside and outside of these covered approaches.

It is certain therefore that the use of trenches was well known to the antients, without which they could have formed no siege. There were different sorts of them. They were either fosses parallel to the front of the attacks, or communication cut in the earth and covered over head, or open, and drawn obliquely, to prevent being scowered by the enemy. These trenches are often expressed in authors by the Latin word *aggeres*, which does not always signify *cavaliers* or *platforms*.

The cavaliers were mounts of earth, on which machines were planted, and were thrown up in the following manner: The work was begun at a small distance from that side of the fosse next the country. It was carried on under the cover of mantles, or moving sheds, of considerable height, behind which the soldiers worked in security from the machines of the besieged. This sort of mantles

or

or galleries were not always composed of hurdles and fascines, but of raw hides, mattresses, or of a courtine made of strong cables\*, the whole suspended between very high masts fixed in the ground, which broke the force of whatever was discharged against it. The work was continued to the height of these suspended courtines, which were raised in proportion with it. At the same time the void spaces of the platform were filled up with stones, earth, and any thing; whilst some were employed in levelling and beating down the earth, to make it firm and capable of sustaining the weight of the towers and machines to be planted upon it. From these towers and batteries of balista's and catapulta's, an hail of stones, arrows, and large darts, were discharged upon the ramparts and works of the besieged.

\* *Cæsar made use of such a courtine at the siege of Marfeilles. De bell. civ. l. 3.*

## P L A T E XXXIX. explained.

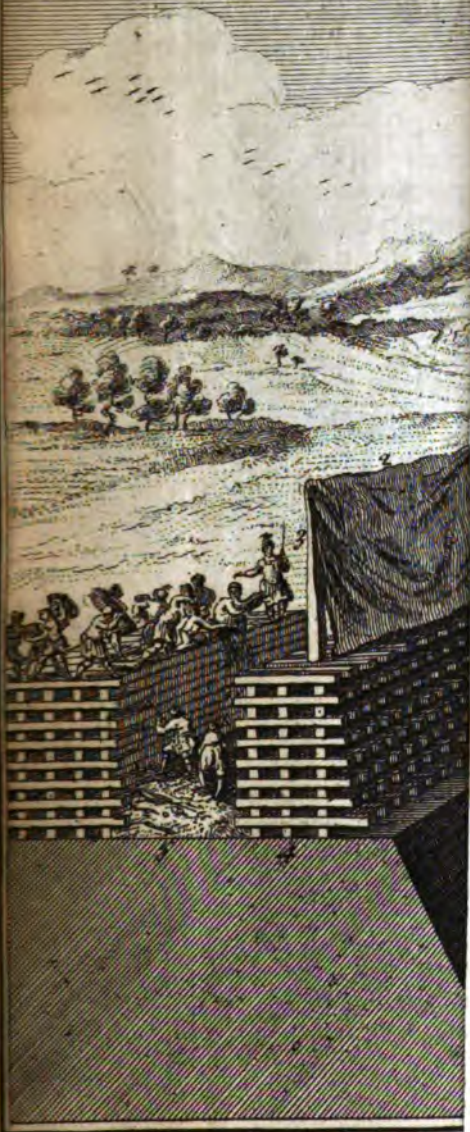
*Profile and manner of erecting the cavaliers or platforms of the antients.*

- (2) **T**HE mantles behind which the besiegers worked in raising the cavaliers.  
 (3) The mattresses thrown over the mantles.  
 (4) A second cavalier raised behind the first when very high.  
 (5) The void space which was filled up between both cavaliers to the same height with them.

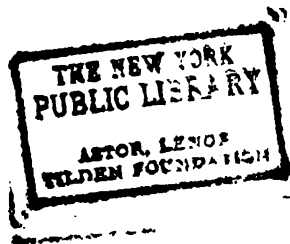
Arrian. l.  
4. p. 180.

The terrais, which Alexander the Great caused to be raised against the rock of Coriænæ, was very surprising. That rock, which was supposed impregnable, was two thousand five hundred paces high, and seven or eight hundred round. It was excessively steep on all sides, having only one path, hewn out of the rock, by which no more than one man could ascend without difficulty. It was besides surrounded with a deep abyss, which served it instead of a fosse, and which it was necessary to fill up, in order to approach it. All these difficulties were not capable of discouraging Alexander, to whose valour and fortune nothing was impossible. He began therefore by ordering the high fir-trees, that surrounded the place in great numbers, to be cut down, in order to use them as stairs to descend by into the fosse. His troops worked night and day in filling it up. Though the whole army were employed in their turns in this work, they could do no more than thirty feet a day, and something less a night, so difficult was the





*Profile & manner of erecting*



the work. When it was more advanced, and began to come nearer the due height, they drove piles into both sides of the fosse at proper distances from each other, (with beams laid a-cross) in order to support the weight to be laid on it. They then formed a kind of floor, or bridge, of wicker and fascines, which they covered with earth, to equal the height of the side of the fosse, so that the army could advance on a way even with the rock. Till then the Barbarians had derided the undertaking, believing it utterly impracticable. But, when they saw themselves exposed to the darts of the enemy, who worked upon their terrass behind mantles, they began to lose courage, demanded to capitulate, and soon after surrendered the rock to Alexander.

## P L A T E XL. explained.

*Surprising terrafs of the Romans at the siege of Massada.*

**T**HIS terrafs is supposed to have been of the nature of that of Alexander mentioned in the text.

Sylva having besieged Massada on the side of the castle or citadel, where there was a rock, larger than that upon which it was built, but not so high by two hundred cubits (three hundred feet); after he had seized this post, he raised a terrafs upon it of an hundred cubits (2), which he strengthened with a wall of great stones (3). Upon this he erected a second cavalier (4) of fifty cubits; upon which he planted a tower (5) of sixty feet high.

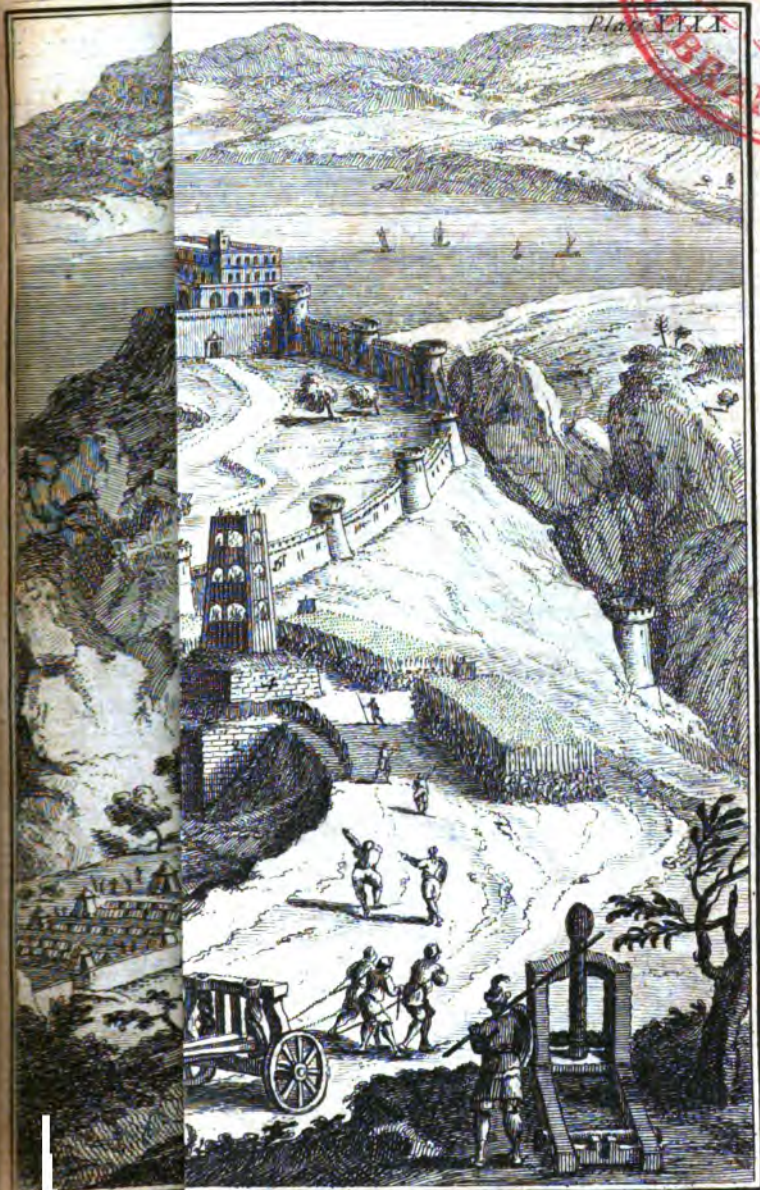
It was under the discharges from these terrasses, that the antients brought their battering tortoises to work. At the siege of Massada, Sylva could not ruin the wall, because situated upon a rock, till he had erected the prodigious terrafs (2); but, as this terrafs was only equal in height to the rock (7), and the ram (8) could batter only the bottom of the wall (9), Sylva, to pursue this attack, caused the second cavalier (4) to be erected, as is said above.

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The filling up of the fosses was not always so difficult as in this instance, but always required great precautions and labour. The soldiers worked under cover in the tortoises, and other the like machines. To fill up the fosses, they made use of stones, the trunks of trees, and fascines, the whole mingled with earth. It was necessary that the work



Plate XLIX



W. H. Jones Sculp.

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works should be of great solidity, to bear the prodigious weight of the machines planted upon them, which would have made them fall in, if this kind of causeway had been composed only of fascines. If the fosses were full of water, they began by drawing it off either entirely or in part by different drains, which they cut for that purpose.

Whilst these works were carrying on, the besieged were not idle. They ran many mines under the fosse to the part of it filled up, in order to carry off the earth, which they handed from man to man into the city: this prevented the work from advancing, the besieged carrying off as much as the besiegers laid on it. They used also another more effectual stratagem, which was to cut large cavities underneath the works of the latter. After having removed some of the earth without its being discovered, they supported the rest with props or large beams, which they smeared over with grease and other combustibles. They then filled up the void space between the props with dry wood, and such things as would soonest burn, and set them on fire: hence, when the props gave way, the whole fell into a kind of gulph, with the tortoises, battering-rams, and men employed in working them.

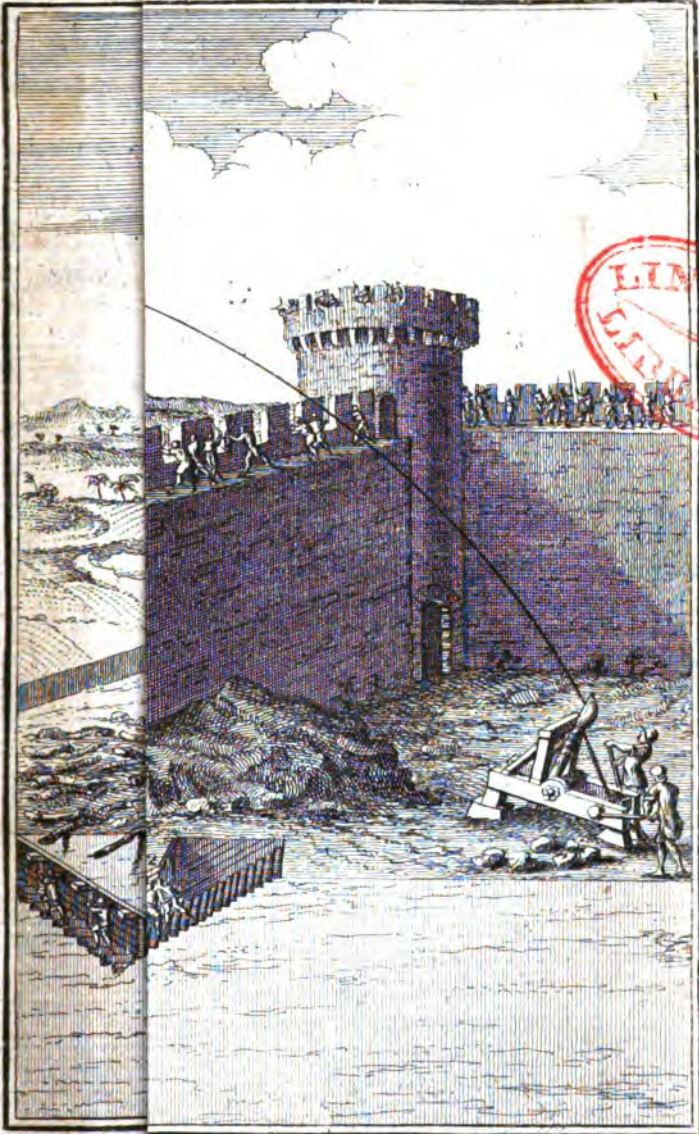
## P L A T E XLI. explained.

*Terrafs of Cosroez at the siege of Edessa undermined by the besieged.*

THE history of this terrafs is the best manner of explaining this plate.

The besieged, apprehending a work already above the height of their walls, attempted to raise one in front of it, but the greatness of the work, and the time it would take up in the execution, discouraging them, they took the shortest method, which was to undermine the terrafs or platform, and to set it on fire. For this purpose they opened a mine (2), which they carried under the fosse (3), to the middle of the cavalier (1), under which they dug, and taking away the earth, propped up the terrafs A strongly, after having rummaged it considerably on the inside. The besiegers, perceiving that the besieged were under them, had no other remedy in so urgent a danger, than to open countermines on each side of the platform B. The miners of the besieged, perceiving that they were working to come at them, replaced the earth on the side they worked, to keep them employed; and filled up the mine A and part of the cavalier with dry wood, pitch, oil, sulphur, and other combustibles; to which, after they had set fire, they retired. The Persians, whether out of negligence of their work, or from whatever other cause, did not perceive at first, that there was any fire in the terrafs; but as the fire did not make all the progress the besieged desired, time being precious, as the cavalier was finished and commanded their walls, they carried in so great a quantity of combustibles





by the Besieged.

W. H. Towns Sculp.

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combustibles to those that were already on fire, that the flames began to take hold every-where within the terrass. As the smoke came through it at different places, the besieged, fearing the enemy would render the fire ineffectual, by having recourse to immediate remedies; to make them believe that the fire was without, and not within, the work; they had the address to throw so great a quantity of darts and arrows with fire and other combustibles upon the platform, that those fires which poured from all parts prevented the enemy from discovering the far greater under their feet, and they applied themselves to extinguish the former, without thinking at all of the latter. Cosroez went to the terrass himself, and perceived the real danger. He immediately caused the work to be opened in several places, in order to extinguish the fire within it with earth and water; which only augmented the violence of the flames. The whole day passed at this work, the people in the place laughing at the besiegers all the while. The air coming in, and the fire finding a vent at the openings, it soon burnt with prodigious violence. The besieged took the advantage of the confusion it occasioned, and drove the Persians out of all their works.

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The besiegers used the same artifice to make the Polyb. l. 5.  
walls of places fall down. When Darius besieged Chalcedon, the walls were so strong, and the place so well provided with all necessaries, that the inhabitants were in no pain about the siege. The king did not make any approaches to the walls, nor lay waste the country. He lay still, as if he expected a considerable reinforcement. But, whilst the people of Chalcedon had no other thoughts than of guarding their walls, he opened at the distance of three quarters of a league from the city a mine, which  
the

the Persians carried on as far as the market-place. They judged themselves directly under it from the roots of the olive-trees, which they knew grew there. They then opened their mine, and, entering by that passage, took the place whilst the besieged were still employed in keeping guard upon the wall.

Liv. l. 4.  
n. 22.

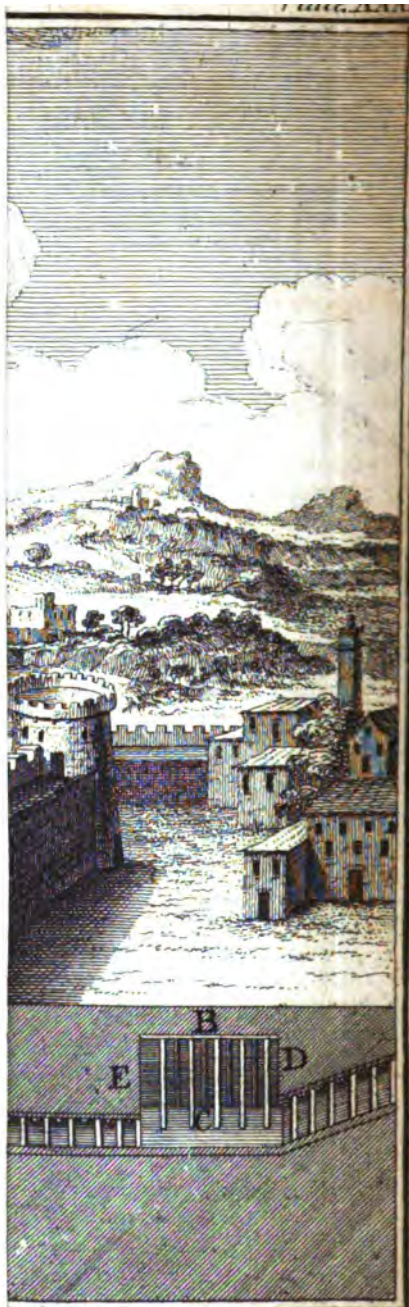
In the same manner, A. Servilius the dictator took the city of Fidenæ, having caused several false attacks to be made on different sides, whilst a mine, carried on as far as the citadel, opened him a passage there for his troops. Another dictator (the celebrated Camillus) could not terminate the long siege of Veii, but by this stratagem. He undertook to run a mine as far as the citadel of that place. And, that the work might not be discontinued, nor the troops discouraged by the length of it, he divided them into six brigades, who relieved each other every six hours. The work being carried on night and day, it extended at length to the citadel, and the city was taken.

Appian. de  
bell. Mi-  
thrid.  
p. 193.

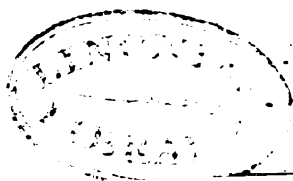
At the siege of Athens by Sylla, it is astonishing to consider the mines and countermines used on both sides. The miners were not long before they met and fought furiously under ground. The Romans, having cut their ways as far as the wall, sapped a great part of it, and supported it in a manner in the air on props of wood, to which they set fire without loss of time. The wall fell suddenly into the fosse with an incredible noise and ruins, and all that were upon it perished. This was one of the methods of attacking places.

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*Inside of a place.*



## P L A T E XLII. explained.

*Mine from the camp to the inside of a place.*

**T**HIS kind of mines were long used before the invention of sapping, and consisted at first in only running the mine A from the camp to the wall; and from thence a considerable way into the place, underneath some large temple, or other great building little frequented in the night. When they came thither, they cut a large space B, which they propped up with strong timbers C; they then cut the passage D, of the whole breadth of the large chamber B, for entering the place in the greater number, whilst the soldiers filed off through the narrow part of the mine E into the chamber B with the utmost diligence.

## P L A T E XLIII. explained.

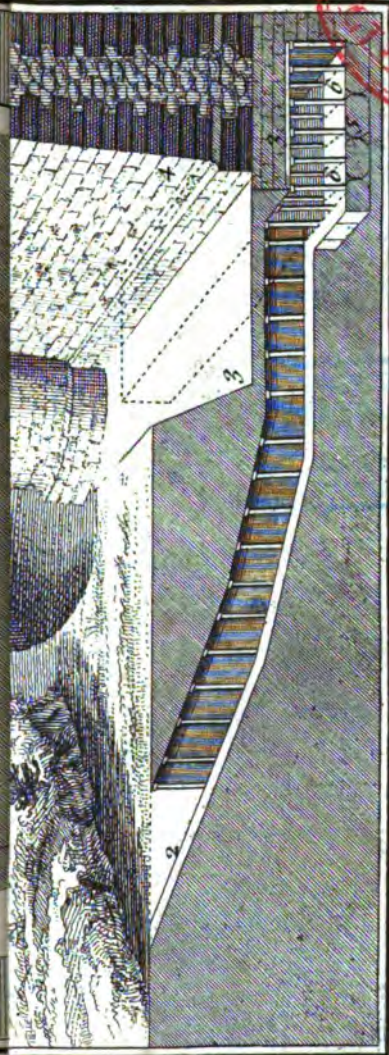
*Mine for sapping the foundations of a wall.*

**T**HE mine (2) was opened very near the camp, to avoid its being discovered, and was carried under the fosse to the foot of the wall (4); when it was enlarged to the right and left of the foundations (5). This latter part ought to be very large for receiving the great number of workmen, and long in proportion to the extent of the wall to be thrown down. This being done, they began to sap at bottom, and, as the stones were pulled out, and the work advanced, they propped the superstructure with timbers four feet high (6) upon the bottom stones of the foundation (5). As soon as the work was finished, they laid faggots and other combustibles between the props, and after they had set them on fire, they quitted that part of the mine, and repassed the fosse to avoid being stifled by the smoke; besides which, there was reason to fear, that the wall in falling would break into the mine, and bury all under it in its ruins.

S E C T.



*Plan of the Saps under the foundation of a Wall.*



*Mine for Sapping the foundation of a Wall.*



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## S E C T. III.

*Means used in repairing breaches.*

**T**HE antients used several methods to defend themselves against the enemy after a breach was made.

Sometimes, but not so frequently, they made use of trees cut down, which they extended along the whole front of the breach, very near each other, in order that the branches might mingle together; they tied the trunks very firmly to one another, so that it was impossible to separate these trees, which formed an impenetrable fence, behind which a multitude of soldiers were posted, armed with pikes and long partisans.

The breaches were sometimes made so suddenly, either by saps above, or under ground, or by the violent blows of the rams, that the besieged often found their works laid open, when they least thought of it. They had recourse on such occasions to a very simple refuge, in order to gain time to look about them, and to intrench behind the breach. They threw down upon the ruins of the wall a prodigious quantity of dry wood. and other combustible matter, to which they set fire: this occasioned so violent flame, that it was impossible for the besieged to pass through it, or approach the breach. The garrison, of Haliartus in Boeotia Liv. l. 42. n. 63. thought of this remedy against the Romans.

But the most usual method was to erect new walls behind the breaches, which are now called, in French, *retirades*, retrenchments. These works generally were not parallel with the ruined walls. They described a kind of semicircle towards the

place, of which the two ends joined the two sides of the wall that remained whole. They did not omit to cut a very large and deep fosse before this work, in order that the besieged might be under the necessity of attacking it with no less difficulty, and all the machines employed against the strong walls.

Appian.  
de bell.  
Mithrid.  
p. 194.

Sylla, having beat down a great part of the wall of the Piræum with his battering-rams, caused a breach to be immediately attacked, where so soon as a battle ensued, that he was obliged to force a retreat. The besieged, improving the opportunity this gave them, immediately ran a second wall behind the breach. Sylla, perceiving it, made his machines advance to batter it, rightly judging, that being newly built, it could not long resist their violence. The effect answered with no great difficulty, and he immediately ordered the assault to be given. The action was warm and vigorous; but he was at last repulsed with loss, and obliged to abandon his design. History abounds with examples of this kind.

## P L A T E XLIV. explained.

### *Intrenchments of the ancients behind breaches.*

**A** Intrenchment in form of an angle reversed; it was sometimes in the form of a section of a circle.

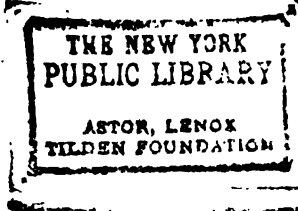
**B** The lodgment of the besiegers upon the ruins of the breach, which was sometimes made level for the passage of the machines to batter the new work.



*Entrenchments of the Ancients behind Breches.*

W.H. T. del.





## S E C T. IV.

*Attack and defence of places by machines.*

**T**HE machines most used in sieges were, as I have observed before, the catapulta, balista, tortoises, battering-rams, and moving towers. To know the force of them, the reader need only turn back to the relations of the most important sieges treated of this history, such as those of Lilybæum in Sicily by the Romans; of Carthage by Scipio; of Syracuse, first by the Athenians, and afterwards by Marcellus; of Tyre by Alexander; of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes; and of Athens by Sylla.

I shall cite here no more than one, of which I shall repeat only some detached, but very proper, circumstances, in my opinion, to shew the manner in which the antients attacked and defended places, and the use they made of machines of war. This is the famous siege of Jerusalem by Titus, related at large by the historian Josephus, who was an eye-witness of the whole.

The city of Jerusalem was fortified with a triple wall, except on the side of the vallies, where there was but one, because they were inaccessible. Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. 1.

Titus began by causing all the trees in the neighbourhood to be cut down, and made use of that wood in erecting several platforms or terrasses. The whole army were employed in this work; the workmen were covered by hurdles and gabions. The Jews omitted nothing on their side, that might contribute to their defence; the ramparts were soon covered with a great number of machines.

The first wall was first attacked. When the platforms were erected, Titus caused the rams to

be planted upon them, with the other machines to annoy the enemy, and battered the wall in three different places. The Jews perpetually poured an incredible number of fires and darts upon these machines, and the soldiers that worked the rams. They made also several sallies to set them on fire, and were repulsed with great difficulty.

Titus had caused three towers to be erected on these platforms, each of seventy-five feet in height, to command the ramparts and works of the place. In the night, one of these towers fell of itself, and occasioned a great consternation throughout the whole army. They gauled the besieged exceedingly, for they were full of portable machines, slingers, and archers, who poured a continual shower of darts, arrows, and stones upon them, which they did not know how to remedy, because they could neither raise platforms of an equal height with those towers, nor throw them down, they were so strong; nor burn them, because covered all over with plates of iron. Nothing therefore being able to retard the effect of the rams, and those dreadful machines perpetually advancing, the Jews abandoned the first wall, after a defence of fifteen days. The Romans entered the breach without difficulty, and opened the gates to the rest of the army.

The second wall gave them no great trouble: Titus soon made himself master of that, with the new city. The Jews then made very extraordinary efforts, and drove him out of them, and it was not till a continual and very fierce battle of four days, that he regained them.

But the third wall cost him much labour and blood, the Jews refusing to hearken to any proposals of peace, and defending themselves with an obstinacy, that resembled rather the madness and fury of men in despair, than valour and fortitude.

Titus



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Titus divided his army into two bodies, in order to form two attacks on the side of the fort Antonia; and made his troops work in erecting four terrasses, upon each of which a legion was employed. Though the work was carried on night and day, it took up above fifteen days to compleat it; at the end of which the machines were planted upon it. John and Simon were at the head of the seditious, who ruled all things in the city. They first caused a mine to be run as far as the terrass in the front of the fort Antonia, the ground under it to be supported by props, a great quantity of wood prepared with rosin and pitch to be carried into it, and then ordered it to be set on fire. The props being soon consumed, the terrass fell in with a dreadful noise. Two days after, Simon attacked the other terrasses, upon which the besiegers had placed their rams, and begun to batter the wall. Three young officers, followed by soldiers as determined as themselves, opened their way with torches in their hands through the midst of their enemies, as if they had nothing to fear from the multitude of darts and swords; and did not retire till they had set fire to the machine. When the flames began to rise, the Romans ran from their camp to save their machines. The Jews repulsed them by the shower of darts from the top of their walls, where they had three hundred catapultæ and forty balistæ. They also sallied in large bodies, and despising danger, came to blows with those who advanced to extinguish the fire. The Romans used their utmost endeavours to draw off their rams, of which the covers were burnt; and the Jews, to prevent them, continued amidst the flames without giving way. The fire from the machines caught the terrasses, the Romans not being able to hinder it. So that, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides with the flames, and despairing of all

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

means to preserve their works, they retreated to their camp. They were inconsolable for having lost in one hour, by the ruin of their works, what had cost them so much time and pains; and many, seeing all their machines destroyed, despaired of ever being able to take the place.

But Titus did not lose courage. Having called a great council of war, he proposed the building of a wall round the city, to deprive the besieged of all hopes of receiving aid or provisions, of which they began to be in want. This advice was generally approved, and the troops recovered spirit. But what seems incredible, and was truly worthy of the Romans, is, that this great work, which appeared to require three months for the execution of it, the city being two leagues in circumference, was begun and finished in three days. The city being inclosed in this manner, the troops were posted in the towers, with which the new wall was flanked at proper distances. Titus at the same time caused four more terrasses to be raised against the fort Antonia, larger than the former. They were completed in twenty-one days, notwithstanding the difficulty of finding the wood necessary for so great a work.

John, who commanded in fort Antonia, in order to prevent the danger consequential of a breach's being made by the besiegers, lost no time in fortifying himself; and, to try all things before the rams began to batter, he made a sally with torches in hand, in order to set fire to the enemy's works, but was obliged to return without being able to approach them.

The Romans then advanced their rams to batter the tower Antonia; but seeing, notwithstanding reiterated efforts, that they could not make a breach, they resolved to sap it, and, covering themselves with their bucklers in form of a tortoise, against  
the

the quantity of stones and flints which the Jews poured down upon them, they persevered to work in such a manner with their levers and hands, that they loosened four of the stones in the foundation of the tower. Night obliged both sides to some respite: and, in that time, the part of the wall, under which John had caused the mine to be run, by the means of which he had ruined the first terrasses of the Romans, being weakened by the strokes they had given it, fell down on a sudden. The Jews the same moment raised another wall behind it.

As it was so newly built, it was expected that it would be the more easily thrown down; but nobody dared to be the first to assault it, so much the determined courage of the Jews had dismayed the troops. Several attempts were however made, but without success. Providence opened them another way. Some soldiers, who guarded the terrasses, got up without noise, towards the close of the night, by the ruins of the wall into the fort Antonia. They found the centinels upon the advanced posts asleep, and cut their throats. Having made themselves masters of the wall in this manner, they caused their trumpets to sound, which they had taken care to bring with them. Upon that alarm, the guards at the other posts, imagining the number of the Romans much greater than it was, were seized with such fear that they fled. Titus came up soon after with part of his troops, and, entering by the same ruins, pursued the Jews to the gates of the temple, which they defended with incredible valour. The action was very hot, and continued at least ten hours. But at length the fury and despair of the Jews, who saw their safety depended upon the success of this battle, prevailed over the valour and experience of the Romans. The latter thought proper to content themselves with having

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taken fort Antonia, though only a part of their army was present in the battle.

Several other assaults passed which I omit. The greatest of the rams, that Titus had caused to be made, and planted upon the platform, battered the walls of the temple continually for six days, without being able to make any more progress than the rest; of such proof was that superb edifice against their efforts. The Romans, having lost all hopes of succeeding by attacks of this kind, resolved to proceed by scaling the walls. The Jews, who had not foreseen it, could not prevent them from planting their ladders. But never was resistance greater than theirs. They threw down such as had got on the wall, killed those upon the upper steps of the ladders, before they could cover themselves with their shields, and even threw down the ladders, quite covered with soldiers, which cost the Romans many men. The rest were obliged to retire without being able to succeed in the attempt.

The Jews made many sallies, in which they fought with the utmost fury and desperation, and killed abundance of the Romans. But Titus at last made himself master of the temple, to which, notwithstanding the most severe orders to the contrary, a soldier set fire, and it was consumed entirely. And thus the prediction of Jesus Christ concerning it was accomplished.

## CHAPTER III.

*Of the navies of the antients.*

I Have already spoken elsewhere of the maritime Vol. IV. affairs of the antients, their ships, and naval P. 341. troops. I must beg the reader to have recourse to what I have said there, to supply what may be wanting in this place.

Nothing certain can be said concerning the origin of navigation. We may however be assured, that the oldest vessel mentioned in history is Noah's ark, of which God himself gave the design, and directed the form and all the measures, but solely with the view which he had of its containing the family of Noah, and all the animals of the earth and air.

This art without doubt was in its beginning gross and imperfect: planks, rafts, small boats, and little barks. The manner in which fish move in the water, and birds in the air, might suggest to mankind the thoughts of imitating the aids nature has given those animals by oars and sails. However it were, they have attained by degrees the art of building vessels in the perfection we now see them.

The ships of the antients may be divided into two species: those for transporting merchandise, \* *onerariæ naves*; and ships of war, often called long ships, *longæ naves*.

The first were small vessels, which were commonly called *open barks*, because they had no deck. These little barks had no beaks called *rostra*, used

\* *Bornilcar centum triginta navibus longis, & septingentis onerariis profectus. Liv. l. 25. n. 27.*

in sea-fights, to run against and sink the enemy's ships.

The long ships used in war were of two sorts. The one had only one bench of oars on each side, the other more.

Of those which had only one bench, some had twenty oars, *εικοσῶροι*; others thirty, *τριηκόστωροι*; some fifty, *πεντηκόστωροι*; or even an hundred, *εκατόστωροι*. Nothing is more common than these names of ships in Greek authors. The rowers were placed half on one side of the vessel, and half on the other, on the same line.

Amongst the vessels of several benches of oars, some had two only, *biremes*; others three, *triemes*; some four, *quadrيرهmes*; others five, *quinqueremes*; and others a greater number, as we shall see in the sequel. Those most spoken of by authors, and of which the antients made most use in battles, were the *triemes* and *quinqueremes*: by which names the reader will permit me to express the ships with three and five benches of oars.

We find in all the ancient authors a clear and evident distinction between these two sorts of vessels. Some were called *τριηκόστωροι*, *ships of thirty oars*; *πεντηκόστωροι*, *ships of fifty oars*, &c. and these were ranked in the number of small ships. We shall see presently the difference there was in the number of the cres on board each of them. The latter were distinguished by their several benches of oars, as well as magnitude. And Livy says expressly: *Quinqueremis Romana—pluribus remorum ordinibus scandentibus vortices*; as well as Virgil, *Terno conflunt ordine remi*. It is therefore not to be doubted, that the antients had ships with several benches of oars, two, three, four, five, six, to thirty or forty; but only those of a small number of benches were of use: the rest being only for shew.

Liv. l. 37.  
n. 30.

Æn. l. 5.

To know of what nature these several benches of oars were, and how they could be put in motion, is a difficulty, and has always been a matter of dispute amongst the learned moderns, which in all probability may continue for ever undecided. The most able and experienced persons in naval affairs amongst us, believe the thing utterly impossible. And indeed it would be so, if we suppose, that these different ranks of oars were placed perpendicularly over one another. But we see the contrary upon Trajan's column, on which the biremes and triremes have their benches placed obliquely, and, as it were, by steps one above the other.

The arguments, opposed to the opinion of those who admit several ranks of oars in vessels, are, it must be owned, very strong and conclusive : But what force can the best reasons in the world have against real facts, and an experience confirmed by the testimony of all the antient writers ?

It appears, that the rowers were distinguished from the place or step where they sat. The lowest were called *Ibalamites*, those in the middle *Zugites*, and those above *Thranites*. The latter had larger pay than the others, without doubt, because they handled longer and heavier oars than those of the lower benches.

It is still a question, whether in great ships each oar had only one man to it; or more, as now in the galleys of France. In the biremes and triremes on the column of Trajan, there is only one rower to a bench on each side. It is very probable, that there were more in larger vessels; but I avoid entering into discussions, which would carry me a great way beyond the extent of my plan.

There are descriptions in Athenæus of ships of a astonishing and incredible magnitude. The two first were Ptolemy Philopator's, king of Egypt. One of them carried forty benches of oars, and

Interp.  
Aristoph.  
in Ranis.

Thucyd.  
l. 6. p. 43.

Athen. l. 3.  
p. 203—  
206.

was

was four hundred feet long, and fifty-seven broad. Four thousand rowers hardly sufficed to put this enormous hulk in motion. It was launched by a machine, composed of as much wood as was necessary in making fifty ships of five benches of oars. How shall we conceive the making use of the forty benches of oars in this vessel? But indeed it was only for shew.

The other ship, called *Talamaga*, because it had beds and apartments in it, was three hundred and twelve feet and an half in length, and forty-five in its greatest breadth. Its height, including the tent or pavilion upon its deck, was almost sixty feet. All round it (except the head) there was a double gallery of immense extent. It was really a floating palace. Ptolemy caused it to be built to carry himself and his whole court upon the Nile; Athenæus does not mention the number of its ranks or benches of oars.

Athen. I. 3.  
p. 206—  
209.

The third vessel is that which Hiero II, king of Syracuse, caused to be built under the direction of the famous Archimedes. It had twenty benches of oars, and was of incredible magnificence. No port of Sicily being capable of containing it, Hiero made a present of it to Ptolemy Philopator, and sent it to Alexandria. Though the hold or sink was very deep, one man emptied it by the means of a machine invented by Archimedes.

These vessels, which were only for shew, have, properly speaking, no relation to the subject I treat on. As much may be said of that of Philip, the father of Perseus, mentioned by Livy. It had sixteen benches of oars, but could scarce be made to move, upon account of its magnitude.

Plut. in  
Demetr.  
p. 397.

What Plutarch says of the galleys of Demetrius Poliorcetes is very surprising, and he takes care to apprise the reader that he speaks with the strictest truth, and without any exaggeration. That prince, who,



who 'tis known, was well versed in the arts, and very inventive in regard to machines of war, had also caused several gallies of fifteen and sixteen benches of oars to be built; not merely for ostentation, as he made a wonderful use of them in battles and sieges. Lyfimachus, not being able to believe what was said of them, sent to desire him, though his enemy, to let his gallies row before him; and, when he had seen their swift and easy motion, he was inexpressibly surpris'd, and could scarce venture to believe his own eyes, These vessels were of astonishing beauty and magnificence; but their lightness and agility seem'd still more worthy of admiration, than their size and splendor.

But we will confine ourselves to those which were more known and common, I mean, principally, the gallies of three, four, and five benches of oars; and observe upon the use made of them in battles.

There is no mention in Homer of vessels with several benches of oars; it was not till after the Trojan war that the use of them was introduced, and the æra is unknown. The Corinthians were the first who changed the antient form of the gallies; and built those of three benches of oars, and perhaps also of five. Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, piqued herself, especially in the time of Dionysius the elder, upon imitating the industry of the city from which she derived her origin; and even at length surpass'd it, by carrying that to perfection, which the former had only designed. The wars, which she had to support against Carthage, oblig'd her to devote all her cares and application to naval affairs. Those two cities were at that time the greatest maritime powers in the world.

Greece, in general, had not yet distinguished herself in this respect. It had been the plan and design of Lycurgus absolutely to prohibit the use of navigation to his citizens; and that from two motives,

Thucyd.  
l. 1. p. 2.  
—10.

motives, equally worthy the wise and profound policy of that legislator. His first view was to remove from his republic all commerce with strangers, lest such mixture should alter the purity of its manners, and weaken the severity of the maxims he had established. In the second place, he was for banishing from the Lacedæmonians all desire of aggrandising themselves, and all hope of making conquests; considering that dire ambition as the ruin of states. Sparta therefore at first had only a very small number of ships.

Athens was originally no better provided with them. It was Themistocles, who, penetrating into the future, and foreseeing at a distance what they had to apprehend from the Persians, converted the whole power of Athens into a maritime force, equipped upon a different pretext a numerous fleet, and, by that wise provision, preserved Greece, obtained immortal glory for his country, and put it into a condition to become in a short time superior to all the neighbouring states.

During almost five ages, Rome, if Polybius may be believed, was entirely ignorant of what a vessel, galley, or fleet were. As she was solely employed in subjecting the states around, she had no occasion for them. When she began to send her troops into Sicily, she had not a single bark of her own, and borrowed vessels of her neighbours to transport her armies. But she soon perceived, that she could not oppose the Carthaginians, whilst they were masters of the sea. She therefore conceived the design of disputing the empire of it with them, and of equipping a fleet. A quinqueremis, which the Romans had taken from the enemy, gave birth to the thought, and served them for a model. In less than two months they built an hundred gallies of five and twenty of three benches of oars. They formed mariners and rowers by an exercise before

Polyb. l. i.

p. 25.

before unknown to them; and, in the first battle they gave the Carthaginians, they overcame them, though the most powerful nation of the world by sea, and the most expert in naval affairs.

The fleet of Xerxes, when it set out from Asia to attack Greece, consisted of more than twelve hundred gallies with three benches of oars, of which each carried two hundred and thirty men; and three thousand gallies of thirty or fifty oars, besides transports, which one with another carried fourscore men. The other gallies, supplied by the provinces of Europe, had each two hundred men on board. Those which set out from Athens, during the Peloponnesian war, to attack the Syracusans, carried as many. From whence we may suppose the usual complement of those vessels was two hundred men. Herod. l. 7. c. 89.

I could have wished, that historians had distinguished clearly in regard to these two hundred men, who were the complement of the ships; how many of them were merely seamen, and how many soldiers. Plutarch, in speaking of those of the Athenians that were in the battle of Salamis, observes, that each of the hundred and fourscore gallies, of which their fleet consisted, had only eighteen fighting men on board, of whom four were archers, and the rest heavy-armed troops: which is a very small number. Plut. in Themist. p. 119.

The battle of Salamin is one of the most famous of antiquity; but we have no very particular account of it. The Athenians distinguished themselves in it by invincible valour, and their commander still more by his ability and prudence. He persuaded the Greeks, not without much difficulty, to stop in a streight, which rendered the superiority in number of the Persian vessels useless: and he delayed engaging, till a certain wind very contrary to the enemy began to blow. Herod. l. 8. c. 84—96.

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## OF THE ART MILITARY.

The last battle of the Athenians, in the port of Syracuse, occasioned their ruin. Because they exceedingly apprehended the beaks of the enemy's galleys, of which they had made a sad experience in the former actions, Nicias had provided grappling irons, in order to prevent their effect, and come immediately to blows as upon shore. But the enemy, who perceived it, covered the heads and upper parts of their galleys with leather, in order to give less hold to the grapples, and avoid being boarded. Their discharges did much greater execution. The Athenians were overwhelmed by an hail of stones, which never missed their aim, whilst their darts and arrows were almost always ineffectual, from the motion and agitation of the vessels. Their antient glory and power suffered shipwreck in this last battle.

Polybius has a short but very fine description of a sea-fight, which was to the Romans an happy omen of the future, and made way for the conquests, which were to assure them of the empire of the sea. It is that of Myla in Sicily against the Carthaginians, in which the consul Duillius commanded. I have related it in the history of the Carthaginians. What is particular, in this battle, is a machine of a new invention, made fast to the top of the heads of the Roman ships, and called *Corvus*. It was a kind of crane, drawn up on high and suspended by cords, which had an heavy cone of iron, called *Corvus*, at its extremity, that was let down with impetuosity, upon the ships of the enemy, to break through the planks of the decks, and grapple them. This machine was the principal cause of the victory, the first the Romans ever gained at sea.

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XIV.

*Grapple Corvus of Quillus*

## P L A T E XLV. explained.

*Grappling Corvus (or Crane) of Duillius.*

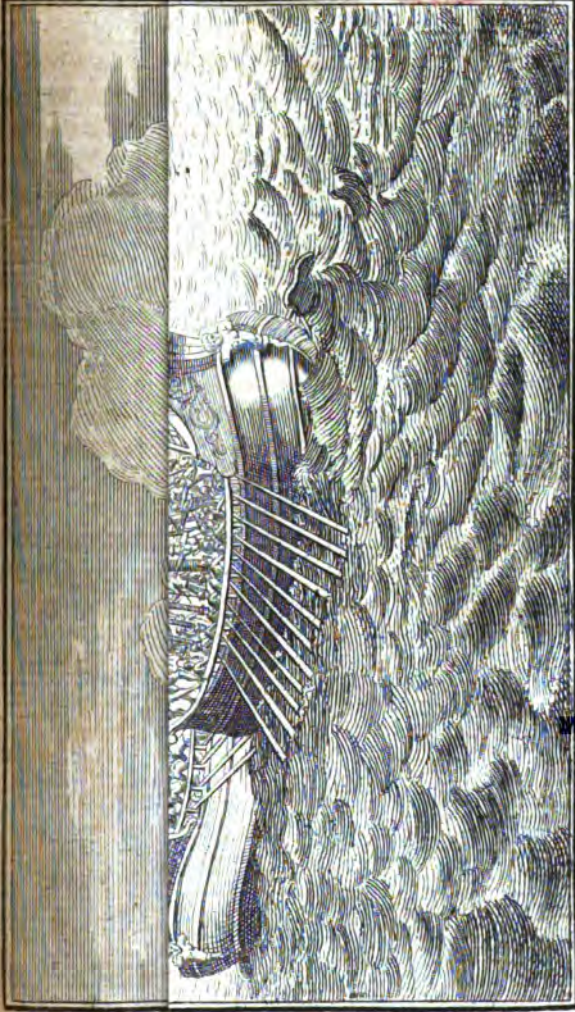
**T**HIS Corvus, or crane, consisted of the mast or tree (2) fixed in the forecastle (3), of the height of four fathoms, and about twelve or sixteen inches in diameter. Upon the top of it there was an iron pivot (4), upon which turned the neck of the crane (5) with the Corvus (6) very sharp-pointed. The Corvus hung by the rope (8), which ran through a pulley at the end of the neck of the crane. When the end of this rope (9) was let go, it fell with such force into the enemy's ship, that it pierced through the deck into the forecastle; but, as it might come out again through the same hole, it was necessary to add the moveable hooks (10) that were affixed to it in the manner of hinges, so that when the Corvus pierced through the deck they gave way, and opened again of themselves immediately, to seize whatever they were drawn against. The Corvus was let fall, when within the proper distance from the enemy's ship, from the highest part of the neck of the crane (5), and as soon as it had grappled, the bridge (11), with iron claws to fasten by, was let down.

## P L A T E XLVI. explained.

*The Dolphin of the Greeks.*

**T**HIS machine, like the former, was only a mass of cast iron (2) which hung at the yard of ships. It must have been of an excessive weight to have produced the effects related of it by authors. It was in use amongst the Greeks, according to Suidas, and the scholiast of Aristophanes. They called it a Dolphin, perhaps from its being of a similar form to that fish; it hung by a cable at the end of the yard, from whence it was let fall upon the enemy's ship, which it pierced from the deck to the hold. In the famous battle in one of the ports of Syracuse, the Athenians having been defeated, the Syracusans pursued them towards the shore, but were stopped, says Thucydides, by the yards of the Athenian ships, at the ends of which hung Dolphins of lead, capable of sinking them: two of their ships, that went too near them, actually were sunk. Authors do not mention the origin of these machines.





XLVI. *The Dolphin of the Greeks.*

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Plate XLVII.



*Corvus (or Crane) of Archimedes acc.*

## P L A T E XLVII. explained.

*Corvus (or crane) of Archimedes, according to Polybius and Plutarch, for seizing and lifting ships out of the water.*

**F**ROM what Plutarch says, the Corvus of Archimedes seems to have been a kind of crane, with the addition of several other powers of motion, not used by the moderns with that kind of machine.

Polybius expressly says, that it consisted of a balance and a lever, which seems most probable, those powers being most capable of producing the effects ascribed to it, as well as of being worked with more expedition and ease. It was undoubtedly a beam, or mast of prodigious length, consisting of several pieces or masts joined together, to render it the stronger and the less flexible. These were very well strengthened in the middle with iron work, and bound from space to space with cordage, like the mast of a ship composed of several pieces. This enormous beam was lengthened by another of almost equal strength.

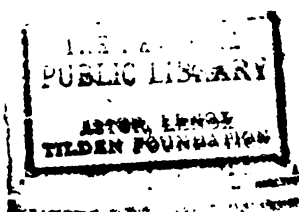
This vast lever must have been suspended, almost in the nature of a crane, to a great tree fixed upright, and made fast within the wall by strong rings of iron wound about with cords, as in the plate.

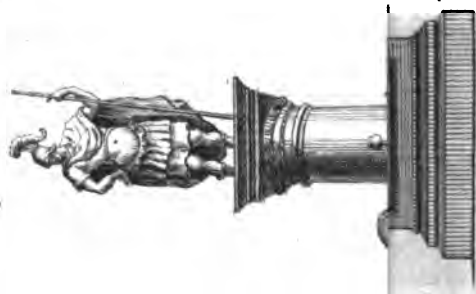
The lever, being firmly flung in this manner by a vast cable or chain to the tree that supports it, had the greater effect, in proportion to the distance of the power or line of direction from the centre of motion, (at the beam to which it was fastened) by adding other powers A, acting perpendicularly,

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

or drawing directly down from the same point with the line of direction.

At the extremity of this vast lever were several grapplings, like flukes of anchors B, hanging at the ends of chains, which were flung over the ships, when they came within reach of the machine. A considerable number of men C lowered the end of this lever by the means of cords, made fast to two great cables at the ends of it. As soon as the iron claws had taken hold, a signal was given to these workmen C, and the end of the lever within the walls drawn down, whilst the other rose up, carrying the ship with it to a certain height, which after was either beat to pieces, by vibration against the walls, or let fall into the sea by cutting the great cable, at the end of which the ship hung by the chains and claws or flukes.





*Columna Retrata or Naval Trophy erected in memory  
of the Victory of Dullis over the Carthaginians.*



## P L A T E XLVIII. explained.

*Columna rostrata, or a naval trophy erected in memory of the victory of Duillius over the Carthaginians.*

**T**HIS was the first victory gained by the Romans at sea. Florus tells, that they erected a column, or naval trophy, with an inscription in memory of it. This is undoubtedly true, for, about the end of the sixteenth century, part of it was dug up at Rome. These columns were called *Rostrata*, from *rostra*, the beaks of ships, with which they were adorned, and which projected from the pillar, and were disposed as in the plate.

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

The same Polybius describes more extensively a famous naval battle near Ecnoma, a city of Sicily. The Romans, commanded by the consuls Attilius Regulus and L. Manlius, had three hundred and thirty deck-ships, and an hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel carrying three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty soldiers. The Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had three hundred and fifty vessels, and above one hundred and fifty thousand men. The design of the former was to carry the war into Africa, which the others were extremely interested to prevent. Every thing therefore was disposed for a battle.

The order of battle of the Romans at this time was entirely unusual. They did not draw up in one or more lines, which was very common, lest the enemy should get between their lines, with the advantage of their number; but took care to face on all sides. Besides which, as the enemy's strength consisted in the agility of their ships, they thought it necessary to row in an oblique line, and observe an order of battle not easy to be broken.

For this purpose, the two ships of six benches, on board of which were the consuls Regulus and Manlius, were placed in the front, side by side. They were each followed by a file of ships, called the first and second fleet. The vessels of each file stood off, and enlarged the file as they drew up, turning their heads outwards. The two first fleets being thus drawn up in the form of a beak or wedge, the third line of ships was formed, called the third fleet. This closed the space, and faced the enemy; so that this order of battle had the form of a triangle. These three lines composed a kind of divided whole, consisting of three fleets; for so they were called. This third line, or third  
et,

fleet, towed the transports, on board of which were the cavalry, which formed a second body. And, lastly, the fourth fleet, or the triarii (for so it was called) brought up the rear, in such a manner, that it extended beyond the two sides of the line in front of it; and this was the third body. In this disposition the order of battle represented a wedge or beak, of which the fore part was hollow, and the base solid; but the whole strong, fit for action, and hard to break.

The Carthaginians, on their side, drew up almost their whole fleet in one line. The right wing commanded by Hanno, and consisting of the lightest and nimblest galleys, advanced very much a-head of the fleet, to surround those of the enemy, that were opposite to it, and had their heads all facing towards it. The left wing, consisting of the fourth part of the fleet, was drawn up in the form of an horn-work, or gibbet, and inclined towards the coast. Hamilcar, as admiral, commanded the centre, and this left wing. He made use of stratagem to separate the Roman fleet. The latter, who assured themselves of victory over a fleet drawn up with so great an extent, began, by attacking the centre, which had orders to retire by little and little, as if giving way to the enemy, and preparing to fly. The Romans did not fail to pursue them. By which movement the first and second fleet (we have before observed which to distinguish by those names) parted from the third, that had the transports in tow; and the fourth, in which were the triarii designed to support them. When they were at a certain distance, upon a signal given from Hamilcar's galley, the Carthaginians fell all at once upon the vessels that pursued them. The Carthaginians had the advantage of the Romans in the nimbleness of their ships, and the address and facility with which they either advanced or retired:

## OF THE ART MILITARY.

but the vigour of the Romans in the charge, their cranes for grappling the enemy's vessels, the presence of the two consuls, who fought at their head, and in whose sight they were infinitely ardent to signalise themselves, inspired them with no less confidence, than the Carthaginians had on their side. Such was the engagement here.

At the same time Hanno, who commanded the right wing, fell in with the ships of the triarii, and put them into disorder and confusion. On the other side, the Carthaginians, who were in the form of a fork or gibbet, and near shore, drew up in a line, and charged the ships that towed the transports. The latter immediately let go the cords and came to blows with them, so that the whole battle was divided into three parts, which made as many different fights at considerable distances from each other.

As the forces were very near equal on both sides, so was the advantage at first. At length the squadron commanded by Hamilcar, not being able to resist any longer, was put to flight, and Manlius made fast the ships he had taken to his own. Regulus, at the same time, went to the aid of the triarii and transports, with the vessels of the second fleet, which had not suffered at all. Whilst he engaged Hanno, the triarii, who had before given way, resumed courage, and returned to the charge with vigour. The Carthaginians, attacked in front and rear, could not resist long, and fled.

While this passed, Manlius returned, and perceived the third fleet driven close to the shore by the left wing of the Carthaginians. The transports and triarii being safe, they joined him and Regulus, to make haste and extricate it out of the danger in which they saw it; and it would have been entirely defeated, if the Carthaginian  
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through fear of being grappled, and thereby reduced to come to blows, had not contented themselves with shutting it in near the shore, without daring to attack it. The consuls coming up in very good time, surrounded the Carthaginians, and took fifty sail of them with their whole complements.

Such was the event of this sea-fight, in which the Romans were entirely victorious. Twenty-four of their ships, and above thirty of the Carthaginians perished in it. None of the Roman ships of war fell into the enemy's hands, who lost more than sixty-four.

The Romans never, even in the time of their greatest power, fitted out in their own names, and alone, so great a fleet as this we now speak of; which Polybius observes upon it. Four years before they were absolutely ignorant of what a fleet consisted, and now set sail with three hundred and thirty deck-ships.

When we consider the rapidity, with which these vessels were built, we are tempted to imagine, that they were of a very small size, and could not contain abundance of hands. We find here the contrary. Polybius tells us a circumstance, which is nowhere else so clearly explained, and which it is extremely important to know: that is, that each galley carried three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty soldiers. How much room must the rigging, provision, water, and other stores of such a galley require! We see in Livy, that they sometimes carried provisions and water for forty-five Liv. l. 29.  
n. 25. days, and without doubt sometimes for a longer term.

The Corvus, or crane, of which mention is often made in sea-fights, a machine for grappling ships, shews us, that the ancients found no means so effectual to assure themselves of victory, as to join

join in close fight, or board the enemy. They often carried balista's and catapulta's on board, to discharge darts and stones. Though these machines, which served them instead of our cannon, had surprising effects, they only used them when ships were at a certain distance, and boarded them as soon as possible. It is in this indeed, and only in this, that the valour of troops really appears.

The galleys, of which these two fleets consisted, were of three benches of oars, or, at most, of five, except those of the two consuls, which had six. At the battle of Myla, the admiral galley had seven benches of oars. It is easy to judge, that these admiral galleys were not merely for shew, and that they must have been of more service in the battle than any of the rest.

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A R T S and S C I E N C E S  
O F T H E  
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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

**W**E are at length arrived at the arts and sciences which relate merely to the mind, and are intended to enrich it with all the branches of knowledge, necessary to instruct man, to give his nobler part all the perfection of which it is capable; to form his understanding and heart, and, in a word, to enable him to discharge the several functions, to which the divine Providence shall vouchsafe to call him. For we must not deceive ourselves in this respect: The end of the sciences is neither to become learned solely for ourselves, nor to satisfy a restless and barren curiosity, which draws us on by a seducing pleasure from objects to objects; but to contribute, each in his way, to the general advantage of society. To confine one's labours and studies to one's own satisfaction, and to centre every thing in one's self, to be ignorant that man is the part of an whole,  
to

## INTRODUCTION.

to which he ought to adhere and refer himself, of which the beauty consists essentially in the union and harmony of the parts that compose it; and which all, though by different means, tend to the same end, the public utility.

It is with this view God distributes to mankind their different talents and inclinations, which are sometimes so strongly implanted, that it is almost impossible to resist them. Every body knows what an inclination the famous Mr. Paschal had from his earliest infancy for geometry, and what a wonderful progress he made in it by the pure force of his genius, notwithstanding the care taken by his father to hide all the books and instruments from him, which could give him any idea of it. I could quote a great number of the like examples in every art and science.

A sequel and effect of these natural inclinations, which always denote great talents, is the industrious application of the learned to certain studies, often abstracted and difficult, and sometimes even disagreeable and tedious, to which, however, they find a secret pleasure attach them with an almost irresistible violence. Who can doubt but this pleasure is a kind of attractive charm, which Providence annexes to certain severe and painful labours, in order to soften their rigours to these pursuers, and to make them surmount with courage the obstacles, which sooner or later might disgust them, if not passionate after their object and actuated by a taste superior to all difficulty?

But do we not also see, that the design of God, in dispensing the talents and inclinations of men with so astonishing a diversity, has been to inable the learned to be useful to society in general, and to obtain for it all the aids in their power? And what can be more glorious and more grateful to them, if they understand aright their true glo  
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than to perceive themselves selected from all mankind, to be ministers and co-operators in the cares of the divine Providence with regard to man, in that very circumstance wherein those cares are greatest and most divine; which is in being the guide of the understanding, and the light of the soul.

Should I be suffered, when I behold the infinite variety of the branches of knowledge intended for the instruction of man, from Grammar, which is their base, to those which are more exalted and sublime, if I compared them with the assemblage of the stars dispersed throughout the vast extent of the firmament to dispel the darkness of night? I seem to see in those bodies a wonderful relation with learning and learned men. They have each their allotted sphere, in which they constantly remain. They all shine, but with different splendor, some more, some less, without envying each other. They keep always within the paths assigned them, without ever deviating to the right or left. In fine, and this, in my opinion, is most worthy of attention, they do not shine for themselves, but for him who made them: *Stellæ dede-* Bar. III.  
*runt lumen in custodiis suis, & letatæ sunt. Vocatæ* 34.  
*sunt, & dixerunt, adsumus; & luxerunt ei cum jucunditate qui fecit illas.* The stars shined in their watches, and rejoiced: when he calleth them they say, here we be; and with cheerfulness they shewed light unto him that made them. This is our duty and our model: of which I say no more.

This book contains what relates to Grammarians, Philologists, which term I shall explain in its place; Rhetoricians and Sophists. I must premise to the reader, that he will find in his progress here some thorns and difficulties. I have removed abundance, and have left only such as could not be excluded, being obliged to it by the nature of the subjects under consideration.



## CHAPTER I.

## OF GRAMMARIANS.

**G**RAMMAR is the art of speaking and writing correctly.

There is nothing more admirable, nor more worthy of our attention, than the double gift God has conferred upon us of speech and writing. We make continual use of them, almost without ever reflecting that we do so, and without considering the amazing wonders both the one and other include.

Speech is one of man's greatest advantages over all other animals. It is one of the greatest proofs of his reason, of which it may be said to be the principal evidence. But by what rare art is it produced, and for how many different parts was it necessary to unite and concur with each other, to form the voice at the first motion of the soul!

I have a thought within me, that I desire to communicate to others; or some doubt, in which I would be satisfied. Nothing is more of the nature of spirit, and consequently more remote from sense, than thought. In what manner therefore shall I be able to transfer it from myself to the persons around me? If I cannot effect this, confined within myself, reduced to me alone, deprived of all commerce, discourse, and consolation, I suffer inexpressible torments: The most numerous assembly, the whole world itself, is to me no more than an hideous solitude. But the divine Providence has spared me all these pains, in affixing sounds to my ideas, and in making those sounds subservient to my will, by a natural mechanism never to be sufficiently admire.

At the very instant, the exact moment, I would communicate my thoughts to others, my lungs, thro-

throat, tongue, palate, teeth, lips, and an infinity of other organs, which depend on, and are parts of, them, put themselves in motion, and execute my orders with a rapidity, which almost prevents my desires. The air from my lungs, varied and modified an infinity of ways, according to the diversity of my sentiments, issues forth to carry the sound of them into the ears of my auditors, and to inform them of all that passes within me, and of all I desire they should know.

To instruct me in producing such wonderful effects, have I had occasion for tutors, lessons, precepts? Nature, that is to say the divine Providence, has made every thing within me and for me. It has formed in my body all the organs necessary for producing such wonderful effects; and that with a delicacy the senses can hardly trace, and with a variety, multiplicity, distinction, art, and activity, which the naturalists confess above all expression and admiration. This is not all. It has imparted to us an absolute authority over all these organs, in regard to which our mere will is an indispensable command that they never disobey, and that immediately puts them in motion. Why are we not equally docile and submissive to the voice of the Creator?

The manner of forming the voice includes, as I have observed, innumerable wonders. I shall only repeat one circumstance in this place, from which we may judge of the rest. It is extracted from the memoirs of the academy of sciences, *Ann.* 1700.

In our throat, at the top of the Tracheanartery, that is, the canal through which the air enters and is respired from the lungs, there is a small oval cleft, capable of being more or less extended, called the *Glotta*. As the opening of this little mouth is very small, in proportion to the largeness of the Trachea, the air cannot pass through it from the  
Trachea,

Trachea, without extremely augmenting its velocity, and precipitating its course. Hence, in passing, it violently agitates the small parts of the two lips of the Glotta, sets them in motion, and causes them to make vibrations, which produce sound. This sound, so formed, goes on to utter itself in the cavity of the mouth and nostrils.

This mouth of the Trachea forms the different tones or notes, as well as sounds; which it can only do by the different changes of its opening. It is oval, as I said before, and capable of extending or closing itself in certain degrees; and thereby the fibres of the membranes, of which it is composed, become longer in low, and shorter in high, tones.

We find by Mr. Dodart's exact calculation of the tones or notes and half-notes of an ordinary voice, that for all the small parts of tone with which it can raise an octave without straining itself, for the more or less force it can give sound without changing the tone or note, we must necessarily suppose that the little diameter of the *Glotta*, which is at most a line, or the twelfth of an inch, and which changes its length with all these changes, must be, and actually is, divided into 9632 parts; that even these parts are not all equal, and that consequently some are much less than the  $\frac{1}{9632}$  part of a line. By what means could the art of man attain to so fine and exquisite divisions! And is it not amazing, that nature itself was capable of executing them? On the other side, it is no less surprising that the ear, which has so just a sense of tones, perceives, when the voice changes its notes ever so little, a difference, of which the origin is no more than the  $\frac{1}{9632}$  part of less than a line, or twelfth of an inch.

The ear itself; can we ever be weary of considering its structure, framed in an admirable manner to collect on all sides, in its winding cavity,

the flying impressions and undulations of sound, and to determine them afterwards by a pleasing sensation to the internal organ of hearing? It is for the naturalists to explain these wonders: But it is ours to admire with gratitude their infinite advantages, which we almost every moment enjoy, without reflecting much upon them. What manner of people would a nation of mutes be, who should inhabit the same place, with no power to impart their thoughts to each other, but by signs and gestures; nor to communicate their wants, their doubts, their difficulties, their joy, their sorrow, in a word, all the sentiments of their souls, in which the life of a rational creature properly consists.

WRITING is another wonder, which comes very near that of *Speech*, and which adds a new value to it, from the extent it gives the use to be made of speech, and the permanence or kind of perpetuity speech derives from it. This invention is perfectly well described in the fine verses of *Lucan*:

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, usi  
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

*If fame speak true, and facts believ'd of old,  
Phœnicia's sons did first the art unfold  
Discourse in uncouth figures to confine,  
And sound and sense to image and design.*

It is still better expressed in *Brebeuf's* translation, which rises considerably upon the original:

C'est de \* lui que nous vient cet art ingénieux  
De peindre la parole, & de parler aux yeux;  
Et par les trait divers de figures tracées,  
Donner de la couler & du corps aux pensées.

\* *Cadmus the Phœnician.*

## OF GRAMMARIANS.

*From him descended first the fine device  
To paint the voice, and to discourse the eyes;  
In forms and colours sense to cloath he taught,  
And all the various features of a thought.*

It is \* this invention, which inables us to correspond and discourse with the absent, and to transfer our thoughts and opinions to them, notwithstanding the remotest distance of places. The tongue, which is the principal instrument and organ of speech, has no share in this equally useful and agreeable commerce. The hand, instructed by use to trace sensible characters upon paper, lends it its aid, makes itself its interpreter, mute as it is, and becomes in it's place the vehicle of discourse.

It is to the same invention, as Theodoretus further observes, whose words I have just before quoted, that we are indebted for the inestimable treasure of the writings come down to us, and which have imparted to us the knowledge not only of the arts, sciences, and all past facts, but, what is of infinitely greater value, of the truths and mysteries of religion.

It is not easy to comprehend how men have been able to compose, out of twenty-five or thirty letters at most, that infinite variety of words, which, having no resemblance in themselves to what passes in our minds, do however disclose all the secrets of them to others, and make those, who could not otherwise penetrate our sense, understand all we

\* Eiusdem beneficio absentibus conversamur; & qui multorum dierum itinere distamus, atque immensis mansionum spatiis & intervallis se jungimur, ingeniorum concepta & animorum sententias nobis invicem per manus transmittimus. Et lingua quidem, quæ primum orationis organum est, otiosa cessat. Sermoni autem dextra ancillatur, quæ calamo arrepto, quod nobis cum amico transigendum erat negotium, papyro aut chartæ inscribit; & sermonis vehiculum est, non os, nec lingua, sed manus, quæ longi temporis usu artem edocuit, & alimentorum compositionem seu structuram probè edocta est. *Theod. de Provid. orat. 4.*

conceive, and all the different affections of our souls. Let us imagine ourselves in the countries, whither the invention of writing has not reached, or where it is not practised: What ignorance! what stupidity! what barbarism do we not see! Can such people be called men? The reader may consult the learned dissertation of Mr. Freret upon *the \* principles of the art of writing*; which contains a great abundance of very curious knowledge.

Let us not blush to own it, and let us render due homage of gratitude to him, to whom alone we are indebted for the double advantage of speech and writing. Only God could teach mankind to establish certain figures to signify all sounds or words.

And these are the first objects of grammar, which, as I have already said, is the art of speaking and writing correctly. It was infinitely more esteemed and cultivated with much greater attention by the Greeks and Romans, than with us, amongst whom it is fallen into great contempt, and almost generally neglected. This difference of sentiments and conduct in this point, arises from those two nations having bestowed considerable time and particular application in the study of their own tongue; whereas we very seldom learn ours by rudiments, which is certainly a great defect in our usual method of instructing youth.

We are surprised to read in Quintilian an exalted praise of grammar, which he says † is necessary to youth, agreeable to age, a delightful employment in retirement, and of all studies, that which is attended with more utility than it promises. This is not the idea we form of it. And indeed it was of

\* *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, Vol. VI.*

† *Necessaria pueris, jucunda senibus, dulcis secretorum comes, & quæ vel sola omni studiorum genere plus habet operis quam ostentationis. Quint. l. 4. c. 4.*

## OF GRAMMARIANS.

far greater extent amongst the antients than we give it. It did not confine itself to the laying down of rules for speaking, reading, and writing correctly, which is certainly a very important part of it. The understanding and explication of the poets were one of it's branches, and we are not ignorant how many things that study necessarily includes. It added another part, which supposes a great fund of erudition and knowledge : this was *Criticism*. I shall soon shew in what it consisted.

That kind of grammarians, called also *Philologers*, *Pbilologi*, were not confounded with the *Grammatists*, *Grammatistæ* *five Literatores*, whose sole employment was to teach children the first elements of the Greek or Latin tongues. For which reason the latter did not enjoy the immunities or other privileges granted by the emperors to the grammarians.

I shall relate here in a few words what history tells us concerning those who distinguished themselves most in this way, either amongst the Greeks or Romans. Mr. Capperonier, my brother, as fellow of the royal college, who has perfectly studied all that relates to grammar, has been so good to communicate some of his remarks upon that subject to me.



## ARTICLE I.

## GRECIAN GRAMMARIANS.

I SHALL not enter into an examination of the origin of the Greek letters. Those who desire to be informed upon that head, may consult the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, in which it is treated with great erudition by the late Abbé Renaudot. I adhere to the common opinion of almost all the Greek and Latin authors, who agree, that Cadmus brought the first letters from Phœnicia, and communicated them to the Greeks, that were afterwards called Ionic, of which the origin is sufficiently denoted by their resemblance to the Hebrew and Phœnician alphabets. I shall confine myself in this place to speaking of those who distinguished themselves most with regard to the Greek grammar.

PLATO is believed to be the first author in whom any footsteps of the art of grammar are to be found. And accordingly in his *Philæbus* he shews the method of teaching the knowledge of the letters. In his *Cratylus*, he treats the antient and famous question, whether the signification of words be natural to them, or arbitrary, and founded solely upon the will of mankind, who has thought fit to annex certain ideas to words? He divides words into two species: the primitive, which he ascribes to God; and the derivative, which are of human invention. He insinuates, that the Greek tongue is derived from the Hebrew, which he calls the language of the Barbarians. In the same dialogue, he examines the origin and etymology of several nouns; for which reason Phavorinus says, in Diogenes Laërtius, that Plato was the first that observed the propriety and use of grammar.

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It seems, however, that ARISTOTLE might be considered as the first author of this science. He has distributed words into certain classes; of which he has examined the different kinds, and particular properties. The twentieth chapter of his Poetics begins with this enumeration: "The poetical style or elocution contains these eight parts, the element, the syllable, the conjunction, the noun, the verb, the article, the case or inflexion, the proposition or phrase."

In vit.  
Epic.

Hermippus, cited by Diogenes Laërtius, tells us, that EPICURUS taught grammar before reading the books of Democritus engaged him in the study of philosophy.

Lib. 6.  
c. 6.

Quintilian says, that the Stoic philosophers made a great many additions to what Aristotle and Theodectes had introduced concerning grammar. Amongst those additions he reckons the prepositions, the pronoun, the participle, the adverb, and the interjection.

The great etymologist Suidas, Hesychius, Stephanus Byzantinus, Athenæus, Harpocration, and other *polygraphical Philologists*, mention several ancient grammarians. of whom some lived after Aristotle and Alexander the Great, and others in the Augustan age. We shall say something of the most celebrated of them.

PHILETES, of the island of Cos, may be placed in the first class of these, whom Ptolomy, the first of that name, king of Egypt, made præceptor to his son Ptolomy Philadelphus.

HECATÆUS of Abdera, who composed a treatise upon the poems of Homer and Hesiod.

LYNCÆUS of Samos, the disciple of Theophrastus.

ZENONOTUS of Ephesus, who first corrected the faults which had crept into the works of Homer.

CALLI-

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**CALLIMACHUS**, uncle on the mother's side to that Callimachus, some of whose poems are still extant. The celebrated **ERATOSTHENES**, of whom I shall soon speak under the title of Philologer, was one of his disciples.

**ARISTOPHANES** of Byzantium was the scholar of Eratosthenes, and lived in the time of Ptolomy Philopator. He was in great estimation.

**ARISTARCHUS**, the disciple of Aristophanes, obscured by his reputation all the grammarians who preceded him, or lived in his own times. He was born in Samothracia, and had for his country by adoption the city of Alexandria. He was highly esteemed by Ptolomy Philometor, who confided the education of his son to his care. He applied himself extremely to criticism, and revised Homer's poems with incredible, but perhaps too magisterial an exactness. For, when a verse did not please him, he treated it as supposititious and interpolated: *Homeri versum negat, quem non probat.* It is said he marked the verses he condemned as supposititious, with the figure of a spit on the side of them; from whence came the word *σπίλον*. Cic. Epist. 11. l. 3. ad Famil.

How great soever the reputation and authority of Aristarchus were, appeals were often made from his decrees, and liberty taken to condemn this great critic's taste, who upon some occasions determined that such and such verses should be transposed from the Iliad to the Odyssey. Transpositions of this kind are seldom very happy, and generally argue more presumption than judgment. Zenodotus was appointed to revise and examine the criticisms of Aristarchus. Suid.

In the opinion of some authors, it was this Aristarchus that divided the two great poems of Homer, each into as many books as there are letters in the alphabet, and gave each book the name of a letter.

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He worked also upon Pindar, Aratus, and other poets.

He had abundance of disputations in Pergamus with Crates the grammarian, of whom I shall soon speak.

Lib. 1.  
Epist. 10.  
ad Attic.  
In Art.  
Poet.

Cicero calls Atticus his Aristarchus, because, as a good friend and excellent critic, he used to revise and correct his harangues. Horace also makes use of the same name, to signify an exact and judicious critic :

*Vir bonus & prudens versus reprehendet inertes, &c.  
Fiet Aristarchus, nec dicet : Cur ego amicum  
Offendam in nugis?*

Quintilian \* informs us, that these grammarian critics, not only took upon them to note, with a kind of censorial authority, the verses they did not approve, and to strike out whole books from an author's works, as offspring unjustly ascribed to him ; but carried their power so far, as to assign authors their ranks, distinguishing some with peculiar honours, leaving many in the common herd, and entirely degrading others.

What I have said of Aristarchus shews that criticism, in which the principal merit of the ancient grammarians consisted, was principally intent in discovering the true author of a work, or distinguishing the writings falsely ascribed to him from such as were really his ; and even in those which were admitted to be genuine, in rejecting the passages which a different hand had designedly inserted ; in fine, to explain what was most beauti-

\* Mistum his omnibus judicium est. Quo quidem ita severè sunt usi veteres Grammatici, ut non versus modò censoria quadam virgula notare, & libros, qui falsò viderentur inscripti, tanquam subdititios summovere familia permiserint sibi : sed auctores alios in ordinem redegerint, alios omnino exemerint numero, *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 4.

ful, most solid, and most remarkable in works of wit, and to assign the reasons for their judgment. Now all this required abundance of reading, erudition, taste, and, above all, a just and refined discernment. To know the usefulness of this art, and have a right sense of it's value, we need only call to mind certain nations and ages, in which a profound ignorance reigned universally, and, for want of critical knowledge, the grossest absurdities, and the most palpable falsifications of all kinds, passed for incontestable truths. It is the glory of our age, and the effect of the best studies, to have entirely dispelled all those clouds and darkness, by the lights of solid and judicious criticism.

CRATES of Mallos, a city of Cilicia, was Aristarchus's contemporary. He was sent to Rome in quality of ambassador, by Attalus II. king of Pergamus. He introduced in that great city the study of grammar, which he had always made his principal occupation. He left nine books of corrections upon Homer's poems.

Sueton. de  
Illust.  
Gram.

After his death there were several other Greek critics at Rome; amongst the rest the two Tyrannions.

TYRANNION, a famous grammarian in Pompey's time, was of Amisus in the kingdom of Pontus. He called himself at first Theophrastus: but, from his violent behaviour in respect to his companions in study, and perhaps his disciples, he was surnamed Tyrannion.

Suidas.

He was the disciple of Dionysius of Thrace at Rhodes, and fell into the hands of Lucullus, when that general of the Romans had put Mithridates to flight, and possessed himself of part of his dominions. This captivity was no disadvantage to Tyrannion, as it gave him the opportunity of rendering himself illustrious at Rome, and of acquiring considerable riches. He employed them, amongst other

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other uses, in collecting a library, according to Suidas, of more than thirty thousand volumes. Charles Stephens, and other authors, say only three thousand; which is most probable.

Tyrannion's care in collecting books contributed very usefully to preserving the works of Aristotle. The fate of those works was something singular, as I have related elsewhere.

Vol. X.

His understanding, and particular industry in this respect, enabled him to do Cicero a very agreeable service, of which he was highly sensible. Every body knows the fondness which persons of study and science have for their books. They are, in a manner, their friends of all hours, their faithful companions; that entertain them agreeably at all times; that sometimes supply them with serious employment, and sometimes with necessary recreation; that go with them into the country, and when they travel; and in times of adversity are almost their sole consolation. Cicero's banishment had torn him from his dear library. It seemed to have been sensible of it's master's disgrace; and, during his absence, many of his books had been dispersed. One of his first cares, after his return, was to retrieve what remained of them, which he found more abundant than he expected. He commissioned Tyrannion to put them in order, and to dispose them into their several classes, in which he succeeded perfectly well. Cicero, in a letter, wherein he invites his friend Atticus to his house, assures him that he will be charmed with the fine manner in which Tyrannion had disposed his library: *Perbelle feceris, si ad nos veneris. Offendes designationem mirificam in librorum meorum bibliotheca, quorum reliquæ multò meliores sunt quam putaveram.* That dear friend, at his request, had sent him two of his slaves, very expert in what related to books, and in passing them, called for that reason *glutina-*  
tares.

Epist. 4.  
Libri 4.  
ad Attic.

tores. The books of the antients, as every body knows, were not bound like ours, but were long rolls, consisting of many leaves of parchment or vellum, either tied or pasted together. Tyrannion had set these two slaves to work, who had done wonders: and my library disposed in so fine an order, says Cicero, seems to have given a new soul to my house: *Postea quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysii & Menophili tui fuit.*

Epist. 8.

Libri 4.

ad Attic.

The merit of Tyrannion was not confined to disposing books; he knew how to use them. When Cæsar was in Africa, making war against Juba, Cicero and Atticus had promised to fix a day for hearing Tyrannion read a book of his composing.

Epist. 2.

l. 12. ad

Attic.

A. M.

3958.

Atticus, having heard it read without his friend, was reproached by him for it: "What, says Cicero to him, did I several times refuse to hear that book read, because you were absent, and would not you stay to share that pleasure with me? But I forgive you for the admiration you express of it." What then must a book so agreeable, and at the same time so worthy of being praised, and even admired by such a man as Atticus, have been? It was only remarks upon grammar, upon the different accents, the quantity of syllables, and what is called prosody. Would one believe, that persons of such extraordinary merit could find any pleasure in works of such a kind? They went much farther, and composed tracts of the same nature themselves, as Quintilian relates of Cæsar and Messala, the first of whom wrote a treatise upon analogy, and the other upon words and letters.

Ibid. Ep. 6.

Lib. 1. c. 4.

Cicero must have had an high value for Tyrannion, as he permitted him to open a grammar-

\* Quintus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. *Epist. 4. l. 2. ad Quint. frat.*

## GRECIAN GRAMMARIANS.

school in his house, where he taught this art to some young Romans, and, amongst others, to his brother Quintus's, and no doubt to Cicero's own son.

TYRANNION, so named from his having been the former's disciple, was otherwise called Diocles. He was a native of Phœnicia, and was taken prisoner in the war between Anthony and Augustus, and bought by Dymas, one of the emperor's freedmen. He was given to Terentia, who made him free: she had been Cicero's wife, who repudiated her. Tyrannion opened a school in Rome, and composed sixty-eight books. He wrote one to prove, that the Latin was derived from the Greek tongue; and another, which contained a correction of Homer's poems.

DIONYSIUS THE THRACIAN was the disciple of Aristarchus. He taught grammar at Rome in Pompey's time, and composed several books upon that subject, many treatises upon others, and a great number of commentaries upon various authors. Mr. Fabricius has caused one of his grammars to be printed, in the seventh volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*.

This piece may give us some idea of the method of the ancient Greek grammarians. The author divides his work into six parts. 1. Reading, according to the accents. 2. The explanation of the tropes and figures in poetry. 3. The interpretation of the dialects, extraordinary words, and certain historical passages. 4. The etymology of words. 5. The exact knowledge of \* analogy. 6. The manner of judging poems, which Dionysius considers as the most refined and most important part of his art. After having explained the

\* Analogy, according to Vaugelas, is a conformity to things already established, which we propose as our model, in making words or phrases like words or phrases already established.



three accents, the acute, the grave, and the circumflex; he goes on to treat the different method of pointing. He even gives, in the course of his work, the definition of the term *Rhapsody*, in the sense of the antient Homerists, who holding a small stick of laurel-wood in their hand, sung detached pieces of Homer's poems. From thence he proceeds to the explanation of the letters, which he divides into vowels and consonants, into *hemiphonæ* or half-vowels, *apphonæ* or *cacophonæ*; that is to say, bad sounding, because he supposes that they have less sound than the others. And lastly, he subdivides the *apphonæ* into *tenuæ*, *mediæ*, and *aspiratæ*, without forgetting the *double* consonants, and the *liquids* or *immutables*. After which he treats the long, short, and common syllables. He next explains the *parts of speech*, which he reduces to eight, the noun, the verb, the participle, the article, the pronoun, the preposition, the adverb, and the conjunction. This author considers the interjection as a kind of adverb. Having explained the six common conjugations called *Barytoni*, he observed, that some grammarians add a seventh, of which the terminations were in  $\xi\omega$  and  $\psi\omega$ , as  $\alpha\lambda\iota\xi\omega$  and  $\iota\psi\omega$ . The circumflex verbs in  $i\omega$ ,  $\alpha\omega$ ,  $\omicron\omega$ ; and the four verbs in  $\mu$  are not forgot.

This detail of grammar appears tedious and useless to us; but the antients had a different opinion of it. There was no part of it, even to the pointing and accents, of which they did not make very great use.

They knew that stopping or pointing well gives perspicuity, grace, and harmony to discourse; and that it assists the eyes and minds of readers and hearers, by making the order, series, connexion, and distinction of parts more evident; in rendering the pronunciation natural, and in prescribing it just bounds and pauses of different kinds, as the sense

## GRECIAN GRAMMARIANS.

sense requires. It is to the grammarians we have this obligation. The learned, who consult the antient manuscripts, in which there are neither comma's, points, *a linea*, nor any other distinction, experience the confusion and difficulty that arise from so vicious a manner of writing. This part of grammar is almost generally neglected amongst us, and often even amongst the learned: which however is a study of no more than half an hour or an hour at the utmost.

I say as much of the accents. The accent is an elevation of the voice upon one of the syllables of a word, after which the voice necessarily falls. This elevation of the voice is called the *acute* accent, marked, thus ('); and the *grave* accent, or lowering of the voice, thus (`). But because in the Greek and Latin tongues there were certain long syllables, upon which the voice was both raised and depressed, they invented a third accent, which they called the *circumflex*, at first marked thus (^), and afterwards thus (ˆ), which comprehended both tones.

The grammarians introduced accents in writing, (for they are not of the earliest antiquity) to distinguish the signification of some words otherwise equivocal, to make the cadences more harmonious, to vary the tones, and to direct when to raise or depress the voice.

We use them also in the French language, but in a different manner. The *acute* accent is always put over the *é* shut, as *temerité*, &c; the *grave* accent is over the *è* open, followed with the letter *s* at the end of words; *procès*, &c. The *circumflex* accent is put over certain long (\*) vowels; *dépôt*, *enfant mâle*; &c.

\* Or from being used at first to denote the elision of the letter *o* when written as pronounced: All the old French books have deposited.

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There are a thousand observations of a like nature, to which we lend little or no attention. Amongst the Greeks and Romans, all children, from their earliest years, learned the rules of grammar exactly, which became natural to them by long use. From whence the meanest of the people at Athens and Rome knew, to a tittle, the least defect of the orators or actors, in regard to accent or quantity, and were sensibly disgusted at it.

I omit a great number of celebrated grammarians, who afterwards distinguished themselves by their great learning.

JULIUS POLLUX of Naucratis, a city of Egypt, has left us his *Onomasticon*, a work highly esteemed by many of the learned. He lived in the second century, in the reign of the Emperor Commodus.

In the interval of time, between the seventh century and the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second, in 1453, we find several learned grammarians, who took abundance of pains to explain the Greek authors, and render them intelligible. Such are amongst others HESYCHIUS, the author of an excellent dictionary, of great use for understanding the poets: THE GREAT ETYMOLOGIST, SUIDAS, who composed a great historical and grammatical dictionary, in which there is abundance of erudition: JOHN TZETZES, author of an history in thirteen books, under the name of *Cbiliades*; and his brother ISAAC, commentator upon Lycophron: EUSTATHIUS, archbishop of Thessalonica, author of a large comment upon Homer; and many others.

## ARTICLE II.

## LATIN GRAMMARIANS.

**S**UETONIUS, in his book *Of Illustrious Grammarians*, tells us, that grammar of old was so far from being in honour, that it was not so much as in use at Rome, because the antient Romans valued themselves much more upon being warlike than learned; and that Crates of Mallos, of whom we have spoken above, was the first that introduced the study of grammar at Rome. Those antient grammarians, at the same time, taught rhetoric, or at least prepared their scholars for that study by preliminary exercises.

Amongst the twenty illustrious grammarians mentioned by Suetonius, we find:

AURELIUS OPILIUS, who at first taught philosophy, afterwards rhetoric, and at last grammar. I have already observed, that this art was of much greater extent than with us.

MARCUS ANTONIUS GNIPHON, who also taught rhetoric in the house of Julius Cæsar, when a child. Cicero, during his prætorship, heard his lectures.

ATTEIUS, surnamed the Philologer. Sallust and Asinius Pollio were his disciples.

VERRIUS FLACCUS, who composed a collection of words of difficult construction, abridged afterwards by Festus Pompeius. He was præceptor to Augustus's grandsons.

CAIUS JULIUS HYGINIUS, Augustus's freedman and library-keeper; to whom a treatise upon mythology, and another upon poetical astronomy, are ascribed.

MARCUS POMPONIUS MARCELLUS, who presumed to criticise upon a speech of Tiberius. At l,

wh n

when Atteius Capito endeavoured to justify it, by maintaining, that the word criticised by this grammarian was Latin, or if it was not, yet being adopted, it would be so; Pomponius made that memorable answer, *You can make men free of the city, Cæsar, but not words.*

REMMIUS PALÆMON of Vicentia, who, in the reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, having rendered himself famous by his great erudition, and facility in speaking and making verses extemporaneously, disgraced himself as much by his bad morals and arrogance.

Besides the antient grammarians, whose lives Suetonius has abridged, there were others, whose names do honour to this art, though they did not teach it in any other manner than by their writings; as Varro, Cicero, Messala, and Julius Cæsar; for those great personages thought it no dishonour to themselves to treat on such subjects.

To avoid prolixity, I omit many learned grammarians, of whom several will recur in the ensuing chapter, where I shall treat of Philologists. Those who may be curious to collect all the Latin authors upon this subject, will find them in the collection of the antient grammarians, published by Elias Putschius in 1605, two volumes *in quarto*. An excellent book, and very necessary to all those who teach the Latin tongue, is *the Minerva* of Sanctius, with the notes of Scioppius and Perizonius.

## SHORT REFLECTIONS.

*Upon the progress and alteration of languages.*

**I**T is surprising to consider the manner in which languages are formed, augmented, and attain their perfection; and how, after a certain course of years, they degenerate and corrupt.

OL. II.

M

God,

God, the sole author of the primitive tongues, (and how could man have invented them?) introduced the use of them to punish and frustrate the foolish undertaking of men, who, before they dispersed themselves into different regions, were for rendering themselves immortal by erecting the most superb structure that had ever appeared upon the face of the earth. Till then mankind, who in a manner formed but one family, spoke also but one language. On a sudden, by the most surprising of prodigies, God obliterated from the human mind the antient traces and remembrances of all the words it knew, and substituted new ones in their stead, which in an instant formed new languages. It is reasonable to suppose, that in dispersing themselves into different countries, each joined himself with those whose language he understood, as they did his.

I shall confine myself to the sons of Javan, (in the Hebrew *Javan* is the same as *Ion*) from whom descended the Ionians, that is to say, the Greeks. Behold then the Greek language established among them, entirely different from the Hebrew, (I say this, on the supposition that the Hebrew was the language of the first man) different, not only in respect of words, but the manner of declining nouns and conjugating verbs, inflexions, turns, phrases, number, and sound or cadence. For it is remarkable, that God has given each language a peculiar genius and character, which distinguishes it from allothers, and of which the effect is sensible, though the reason of it be almost infinite and inexhaustible. To the multitude of Greek words, with which their memory was furnished in these first times, use, necessity, invention, the exercise of arts, and perhaps even convenience and embellishment, occasioned the addition of new ones. The Greek *radices* (roots or radical words) are computed

to be two thousand one hundred and fifty-six. The derivative or compound words very much augment that number, and are multiplied to infinity: no language is near so copious and abundant as the Greek.

Hitherto we have in a manner only seen the matter of the Greek language, that is to say, the words of which it is composed, that were almost solely the gift of the Creator and necessity. The use, connexion, and disposition of these words, had occasion for the aids of art. It is observed, that, amongst those who used this language, some spoke better than others, and expressed their thoughts in a clearer, more compact, emphatical, and agreeable manner. These were taken for models, were studied with care, and had observations made upon their discourses, whether in writing, or only by word of mouth. And this gave birth to what we call grammar, which is no more than a collection of observations upon a language: a very important, or rather absolutely necessary, work, for fixing the rules of a tongue, reducing them to a method that facilitates the study of them, clearing up their doubts and difficulties, explaining and removing bad uses and modes of speech, and conducting, by sensible and judicious reflections, to all the beauty of which it is susceptible.

We know nothing of the beginning nor progress of the Greek tongue. The poems of Homer are the most antient work we have in that language; and the elocution of them is so perfect, that no future age has been capable of adding any thing to it. This perfection of language subsisted and preserved itself longer amongst the Greeks than any other nation of the world. Theocritus lived above six hundred years after Homer. All the poets who flourished during that long interval, except a very small number, are esteemed excellent with regard

to language, in their several ways. The same may be almost said of the orators, historians, and philosophers. The universal and prevailing taste of the Greeks for arts, the esteem they always had for eloquence, their care in cultivating their language, which was the only one they learned, disdaining generally the Roman, tho' spoken by their masters; all this conspired to support the Greek tongue in its purity during many ages, till the translation of the empire to Constantinople. The mixture of Latin, and the decline of the empire, which induced the decay of the arts, soon after occasioned a sensible alteration in the Greek language.

The Romans, solely intent upon establishing and securing their conquests by the method of arms, had little regard at first to the embellishment and improvement of their tongue. The small remains, which we have of the annals of the pontiffs, the laws of the twelve tables, and some other monuments, few in number, shew how gross and imperfect it was in those early times. It afterwards, by little and little, grew more copious, and enlarged itself insensibly. It borrowed a great number of words from the Greek, which it dressed after its own mode, and in a manner naturalised; an advantage the Greeks had not. We may perceive at this day the taste of the Greek language in the old Latin poets, such as Pacuvius, Ennius, and Plautus, especially in the compound words with which they abound. What we have of the discourses of Cato, the Gracchi, and the other orators of their times, shews a language already of great copiousness and energy, and that wanted nothing but beauty, disposition, and harmony.

The more frequent communication Rome had with Greece, after having conquered it, introduced an entire change in it with respect to language, as well as taste for eloquence and poetry, two things  
which



which seem inseparable. To compare Plautus with Terence, and Lucretius with Virgil, one would be apt to believe them many ages remote from each other; and however they were divided only by some few years. The epocha of reviving, or rather establishing, pure Latinity at Rome, may be fixed at Terence, and continued to the death of Augustus; something more than an hundred and fifty years. This was the happy age of Rome with regard to polite learning and arts, or as it is called the golden [*and Augustan*] age, in which a crowd of authors of the highest merit carried the purity and elegance of diction to their utmost height, by writings entirely different as to stile and matter, but all equally distinguished by pure Latinity and elevation of taste.

This rapid progress of the Latin tongue will be less surprising, if we remember that such persons as Scipio Africanus the younger, and Lælius, on the one side, and Cicero and Cæsar on the other, did not disdain, in the midst of their important occupations, the former to lend their hands and pens to a comic poet, and the latter to compose treatises themselves upon grammar.

This purity of language continually declined from the death of Augustus, as well as the taste for sound eloquence; for their fate is almost always the same. There needs no great discernment to perceive a sensible difference between the authors of the Augustan age, and those who succeeded it. But two hundred years after the difference is excessive, as we may easily observe in reading the authors, who have written the history of Augustus. The purity of language was preserved almost solely (and that too not without some alteration) amongst the civilians Ulpian, Papinian, Paulus, &c.

I do not know whether it were just to say the fate of language and that of taste were always the

same. We have old French authors, as Marot, Amiot, Montaigne, and others, the reading of whom still pleases infinitely, and, no doubt, will for ever please. What is it we love and esteem in these authors? Not their language, because in these days we could not suffer any thing like it. It is something more easily conceived than expressed: a simple and genuine air, a fine tour of imagination, natural manners, a nobleness and majesty of stile without affectation or bombast, and especially the sentiments of nature, which flow from, and reach, the heart: in a word, it is that taste of antient Greece and Rome, which is of all ages and nations, and diffuses through writings a certain salt, the spirit and delicacy of which every reader of genius perceives, whilst it adds a new value to the force and solidity of the matter with which it is united.

But why does not this old language please still? I speak only in regard to words. We want abundance in our language, and these old authors have excellent ones; some clear, simple, and natural; and others full of force and energy. I always wished, that some able hand would make a small collection of both kinds, that is to say, of such as we want, and might regain, to shew us our error in neglecting the progress and improvement of our language as we do, and to rebuke our stupid indolence in this point. For if the French tongue, otherwise rich and opulent, experiences on certain occasions a kind of barrenness and poverty, it is to our own false delicacy we should impute them. Why should we not enrich it with new and excellent terms, which our own antient authors, or even the neighbouring nations, might supply, as we see the English actually do the same with great success? I am sensible, that we should be very discreet and reserved in this point: but we ought not to carry our discretion to a narrow pusillanimity.

We have reason to believe, that our language has attained the highest perfection of which it is capable; and of this the honour of its being adopted into almost all the courts of Europe seems a glorious proof. If it be defective in any thing, it is, in my opinion, only with regard to a richer abundance; notwithstanding good speakers scarce perceive, that it wants any words for the expression of thoughts; but it would admit a greater number. France had in the last age, and still has, writers of distinguished merit, highly capable of acquiring her this new advantage. But they respect and fear the public. They make it, with reason, a duty to conform to, and not to clash with, its taste. Hence, to avoid incurring its displeasure, they hardly dare venture any new expression, and leave the language in this point where they found it. It would therefore be incumbent on the public, for the honour of the language and nation, to be less delicate and severe; and also on authors, to become a little less timorous; but, I repeat it, great discretion and reserve are always necessary in using this liberty.

But I do not perceive, that whilst I venture my reflections upon our language in this manner, myself perhaps may seem wanting in respect for the public; which would be very contrary to my intention. I conclude this article with taking the liberty to acquaint the reader again, that this study is of great importance, and should by no means be neglected. It is with joy I see the French grammar regularly taught in several classes of the university.

*That of  
Mr. Ref-  
tant.*



## CHAPTER II. OF PHILOLOGERS.

**T**HOSE who have applied their studies to examining, correcting, explaining, and publishing the antient authors, are called *Philologers*: they profess universal learning, including all sciences and authors, in which antiently the principal and most noble part of the grammarian's art consisted. By philology therefore is understood a species of science containing grammar, rhetoric, poetry, antiquities, history, philosophy, and sometimes even mathematics, physic, and civil law; without treating any of these subjects either in whole or in part, but occasionally using all or any of them. I do not know for what reason this philology, which has done so much honour to the Scaligers, Salmasius's, Causabons, Vossius's, Sirmondus's, Gronovius's, &c. and which is still so much cultivated in England, Germany, and Italy, is almost despised in France, where we set no value upon any thing besides exact and perfect sciences, such as physics, geometry, &c. Our academy of Belles Lettres, which, under that name, includes all the species of erudition antient and modern, and publishes every year, in its memoirs, treatises upon all manner of subjects, may contribute very much to revive and augment this taste for philology and erudition amongst us. I shall here give a brief account of some of those who distinguished themselves most in this kind of literature, mingling Greeks and Romans together.

ERATOST-

## ERATOSTHENES.

Suetonius says, that Eratosthenes was the first <sup>De Illustr.</sup> who was called a *Philologer*. He was a native of <sup>Grammat.</sup> Cyrene, and became library-keeper of Alexandria. <sup>C. 10.</sup> He lived in the time of Ptolomæus Philadelphus, <sup>Olymp.</sup> and had applied himself to all kinds of science, <sup>146.</sup> without thoroughly cultivating any one, as those <sup>Ant. J. C.</sup> do who make one their sole study in order to excel in it. This occasioned his being nicknamed <sup>200.</sup> *Suidas*. \* *Beta*, because, though not capable of aspiring to the first rank in any particular science, he had at least attained the second in all in general. He lived fourscore years, and starved himself to death, not being able to surrive the loss of sight with which he was afflicted. I shall have occasion to speak of him again elsewhere. Aristophanes of Byzantium, master of the famous critic Aristarchus, was his disciple.

## VARRO.

Varro (*Marc. Terentius*) was esteemed the most learned of all the Romans. He was born in the A. M. 636th year of Rome, and died in the 726th, at the <sup>5619-</sup> age of ninety. He assures us himself, that he had <sup>Apud</sup> composed almost five hundred volumes upon <sup>Aul.</sup> different subjects, of which he dedicated that upon the <sup>Gell. l. 3.</sup> Latin tongue to Cicero. He wrote a treatise upon <sup>c. 70.</sup> rural life, *De re rustica*, which is very much esteem- <sup>A. M.</sup> ed. Both these pieces are come down to us. <sup>3709-</sup>

St. Austin admires and extols in many places the vast erudition of this learned Roman. He has preserved the plan of Varro's great work upon the Roman antiquities, consisting of forty-one books. It is of this work Cicero speaks, addressing himself

\* The second letter of the Greek alphabet.

## OF PHILOLOGERS.

to Varro: "We \* were before, says he, in a manner strangers, that did not know our way in our own city. Your books have as it were set us right, and informed us who, and where, we are." After the enumeration Cicero makes of them, St. Augustine cries out with admiration: "Varro † read so great a number of books, that it is wonderful he could find time to compose any himself, and however composed so many, that one can hardly conceive how one man could read them all."

It was difficult to write so many works in an elegant and polite stile. And the same St. Austin observes, ‡ that Cicero praises Varro as a man of penetrating wit and profound learning, not as one of great eloquence and refinement of diction.

## ASCONIUS PEDIANUS.

Asconius Pedianus, cited by Pliny the naturalist, and by Quintilian, lived in the reigns of Nero and Vespasian. We have a fragment of his notes or comments upon several of Cicero's orations. He may be said to have been the model of most of the Latin critics and scholiasts who succeeded him, and of such as applied themselves after him in explaining authors.

\* Nos, inquit, in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque, tanquam hospites, tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui & ubi essemus cognoscere. *Acad. Quest.* l. 1. n. 9.

† Varro tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacasse miremur; tam multa vix quemquam legere potuisse credamus. *De Civit. Dei*, l. 6. c. 2.

‡ Cum Marco Varrone, homine, inquit, omnium facile acutissimo, & sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo. Non ait, eloquentissimo vel facundissimo; quoniam re vera in hac facultate multum impar est. *S. August.* *ibid.*

PLINY

## PLINY THE ELDER.

Pliny (*C. Plinius secundus*) called the elder, might be ranked amongst the historians, or rather amongst the philosophers who have treated of physics. But the multiplicity of the subjects he speaks of, in his books of natural history, made me conceive I might rank him amongst the philologists.

Pliny was born at Verona, and lived in the first century, under Vespasian and Titus, who honoured him with their esteem, and employed him in different affairs. He served in the armies with distinction, was admitted into the college of augurs, was sent governor into Spain; and notwithstanding the time spent in his employments, he found enough for application to a great number of works, which unfortunately are lost, except his *natural history* in thirty-seven books: \* A work, says Pliny the younger, of infinite extent and erudition, and almost as various as nature itself: Stars, planets; hail, winds, rain; trees, plants, flowers; metals, minerals; animals of every kind, terrestrial, aquatic, volatile; geographical descriptions of countries and cities; he takes in all, and leaves nothing in nature or art without an industrious examination. To compose this work, he perused almost two thousand volumes.

He takes † care to inform the reader, that he took the time for this work, not out of that which the public affairs he was charged with required, but his hours of rest, and such only as would otherwise have been lost. Pliny the younger, his ne- Ep. 5. 13. phew, tells us, that he led a simple and frugal life,

\* Opus diffusum, eruditum, nec minus varium quam ipsa natura.  
*Plin. Epist. 5. l. 3.*

† Successivis temporibus ista curamus, id est, nocturnis. *Pres.*

slept

slept little, and made the most of his time, at his meals, making somebody to read to him; and in travelling, having always his books, tablets, and copyist by his side: for he read nothing without making extracts from it. He conceived, that managing his time in this manner was adding to the length of his life, the duration of which is much

*In Prefat.* abridged by sleep: *Pluribus horis vivimus: profecto enim vita vigilia est.*

Pliny was far from having the low vanity of some authors, who are not ashamed to copy others without quoting them. "Probity \* and honour, in my opinion, says he, require, that we should pay a kind of homage to those, whose learning and knowledge are useful to us, by a sincere and ingenuous confession of it." He compares an author, who makes an advantage of another's labours without owning it, to a person who borrows money and pays usury for it: with this difference, however, that the debtor, by the interest he pays, does not discharge the principal sum lent him; whereas an author, by the frank confession of what he borrows, gains it in some measure, and makes it his own. From whence he concludes, that it is meanness of spirit and baseness to be better pleased with being shamefully detected in theft, than ingenuously to confess a debt. I have made myself very rich in the latter way, and at no great expence.

He perfectly understood all the difficulty and inconveniencies of an undertaking like his, in which the subject he treats on is of its own nature ungrateful, barren, and tedious, without leaving any room

\* In his voluminibus auctorum nomina prætexui. Est enim benignum, ut arbitror, & plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per quod profeceris.—Obnoxii profectio animi, & infelicitis ingenii est, deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere, cum præsertim si fiat ex usura. *In Prefat.*



for a writer to display his genius. But \* he was convinced, that the public are not a little obliged to authors who prefer being useful to pleasing it; and who, from that view, have the courage to surmount and undergo all the pains of a tedious and disagreeable labour.

He flatters himself, that he shall be pardoned for all the faults he may commit; which are indeed very numerous, as they were inevitable in a work of so vast an extent, and so prodigious a variety.

Pliny dedicated his work to Titus, at that time almost associated in the empire by Vespasian his father, and who afterwards became the delight of mankind. He gives him a short, but very exalted praise, in telling him: "Your exaltation has made  
"no other change in you, but that of enabling  
"you to do all the good you desire, by making  
"your power equal to the benevolence of your  
"heart." : *Nec quicquam in te mutavit fortuna am-* Epiſt. 16.  
*plitudo, niſi ut prodeſſe tantundem poſſes & velles.* l. 6.

Pliny the younger tells us, in a letter, which he addreſſes to Tacitus the hiſtorian, the ſad accident that occaſioned his uncle's death. He was at Miſenum, where he commanded the fleet. Being informed that a cloud appeared of extraordinary magnitude and form, he put to ſea, and ſoon diſcovered that it came from mount Veſuvius. He made all the haſte he could to get to a place from whence every body elſe fled, and to that part of it where the danger ſeemed greateſt; but with ſuch a freedom of ſpirit and unconcern, that he made and dictated obſervations upon every extraordinary appearance that aroſe. His ſhips were already co-

\* Equidem ita ſentio, peculiarem in ſtudiis cauſam eorum eſſe, ut, difficultatibus victis, utilitatem juvandi prætulere gratæ placeat. *Ibid.*

vered with ashes, which fell the thicker and hotter, the nearer they approached the mountain. Already calcined stones and flints, all black, burnt, and pulverised by the violence of the fire, poured down around them. Pliny deliberated some time whether he should return back: but, having re-assured himself, he went forwards, landed at Stabizæ, and went to the house of his friend Pomponianus, whom he found in the greatest terror, and endeavoured to encourage. After supper he went to bed, and slept soundly, till the approach of danger obliged them to wake him. The houses were shaken in such a manner by repeated earthquakes, that one would have thought they had been torn from their foundations. The family went into the fields. I omit abundance of circumstances. The dark and frightful night, that hung over all, had no other light than what it received from the fire of the mountain. Flames that appeared of an unusual vastness, and the smell of sulphur, which foretold their approach, made every body take to their heels. Pliny rose by the help of two servants, and that very moment fell down dead, apparently suffocated by the thickness of the smoke.

This was the end of the learned Pliny. We cannot but be pleased with a nephew, for having drawn so well the death of his uncle, and having seen nothing in it but fortitude, courage, intrepidity, and greatness of soul. But to judge of it rightly, can we acquit an enterprise of rashness, in which a man hazards his life, and what is more to be condemned, that of others, only to satisfy his curiosity?

It remains for me to conclude this article with a word or two upon Pliny's style, which is peculiar to him, and like that of no other writer. We must not expect to find in it either the purity, elegance, or admirable simplicity of the Augustan age, from which however it was not removed very many years.

His

His proper character is force, energy, vivacity, and, I might say, even boldness, as well in his expressions as thoughts, with a wonderful fertility of imagination, to paint and make the objects he describes sensible. But it must also be owned, that his stile is stiff and cramped, and thereby often obscure; and that his thoughts frequently swell beyond truth, and are excessive, and even false. I shall endeavour to shew this by some examples.

Pliny explains the wonders contained in the matter of which sails for ships are made, that is to say, of flax and \* hemp. Man sows only a small seed in the ground, which suffices to make him master of the winds, and to subject them to his occasions. Without mentioning an infinite number of uses made of flax and hemp, what can be more wonderful, than to see an herb make Egypt and Italy approach each other, notwithstanding the sea that separates them? And what herb is this? A small, slender, weak blade, that scarce raises itself above the ground, that of itself forms neither a firm body nor substance, and requires to be prepared for our uses by being broken and reduced to the softness of wool. Yet little as this plant is, we are indebted to it for the facility of transporting ourselves from one end of the world to the other: *Seritur linum. Sed in qua non occurrit vitæ parte? quodve miraculum majus, herbam esse quæ admoveat Ægyptum Italiæ.—Denique tam parvo semine nasci, quod orbem terrarum ultro citroque portet, tam gracili avena, tam non altè a terra tolli; neque id viribus suis necti, sed passum, tufumque, & in mollitiem lanæ coactum!*

He gives a magnificent idea of the grandeur Lib. 3. c. 5. and majesty of the Roman empire. Rome, says he, is the mother at the same time and nurse of the universe; chosen expressly by the gods to render

\* Pliny mentions only flax.

heaven itself more illustrious, to unite all the empires dispersed over the whole earth, to refine and soften manners and customs, to reduce to one and the same language the barbarous and discordant tongues of so many nations, to establish amongst them by that means an easy and salutary commerce, to communicate to man the laws of humanity; in a word, to make that city the common country of all the people of the universe: *Terra (Italia) omnium terrarum alumna, eadem & parens; munine delum electa, quæ cælum ipsum clarius faceret, sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret, & tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraberet ad colloquia, & humanitatem homini daret; breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.*

Lib. 7.  
in Proem.

I shall only add one more passage in this place, which seemed very remarkable to me, and relates to all of us. It is with reason, says Pliny, that we give man the first rank amongst all creatures, him for whom nature seems to have formed all others: but she makes him pay dear for all her presents; so that we do not know whether we have most room to consider her in regard to him as an indulgent parent, or a rigid step-mother. All other animals come into the world, each in a different dress to cover it; man is the only one that stands in need of a foreign aid to cloath him. He is thrown at his birth stark naked upon the ground as naked as himself. The first signs of life that he gives are \* cries, lamentations, and tears, which is not the case

\* The Latin tongue has a peculiar word to express the cries of infants, *vagitus*; as it also has for that of oxen, cows, and bulls,  *mugitus*; and that of lions, *rugitus*. Our language has adopted the two last words, *mugissement*, *rugissement*. I know not why it should not do the same in regard to the first, and use *vagissement*, which is in the same mode of analogy. This word might offend at first through its novelty; but we should insensibly accustom ourselves to it as well as to the others. For my part, not having sufficient authority with the public,

case with any of the other animals: To this first use which he makes of the light, succeed the folds and bandages in which all his members are wrapt and bound up, a thing no less particular to him. It is in this condition the king of animals, over whom he is destined to reign, finds himself, as soon as born, tied hand and foot, and venting sobs and shrieks. His life begins with torments and afflictions for the sole crime of being born. How strange is the folly of mankind to imagine themselves, after such beginnings, born for pride and pomp. *Principium jure tribuetur homini, cujus causa videtur cuncta alia genuisse natura, magna sæva mercede contra tanta sua munera; non sit ut satis æstimare, parens melior homini, an tristior noverca fuerit. Ante omnia, unum animantium cunctorum alienis velat opibus: cæteris variè tegmenta tribuit.*—*Hominem tantum nudum, & in nuda humo, natali die abjicit ad vagitus statim & ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud ad lacrymas, & has protinus vitæ principio.*—*Ab hoc lucis rudimento, quæ ne feras quidem inter nos genitas, vincula excipiunt, & omnium membrorum nexus. Itaque feliciter natus jacet, manibus pedibusque devinctis, flens animal cæteris imperaturum; & a suppliciis vitam auspicatur unam tantum ob culpam, quia natus est. Heu dementiam ab his initiis existimantium ad superbiam se genitos!* The pagans had a right sense of man's misery from his birth, but did not know the cause of it, as St. Augustin observes, speaking of Cicero: *Rem vidit, causam non vidit.*

*lic, I dared not venture it, and contented myself, with some regret, to say only to myself, with some regret, to say only to myself:*

—— Ego cur acquirere pauca.  
Si possum, invidear? ——

*Horat.*

The Translator thought proper to retain this note, because it is an example of what the author has said above in the text, upon introducing new words into a language, and may serve for ours as well the French.

## OF PHILOLOGERS.

These few passages which I have here quoted from Pliny, and have translated as well as I could, without being able to render the energy of the original, may suffice to give the reader some idea of his stile and character. I should observe, before I conclude, upon the industrious art of the author I now speak of. His work, which takes in all natural history, and treats circumstantially an infinity of subjects, absolutely necessary to his plan, but intirely disagreeable in themselves, abounds almost every where with thorns and brambles, which present nothing grateful to the reader, and are very capable of giving him disgust. Pliny, like an able writer, to prevent, or at least to lessen this distaste, has taken care to intersperse here and there some flowers, to throw into some of his narratives abundance of graces and spirit, and to adorn almost all the prefaces, which he places in the front of each of his books, with fine and solid reflections.

## LUCIAN.

Lucian, a Greek author, was born at Samosata, the capital of Comagena, a province of Syria, of parents of very moderate condition. His father, not having any fortune to give him, resolved to make him learn a trade. But the beginnings not being very much in his favour, he applied himself to literature, upon a dream, true or fictitious, related in the beginning of his works. I shall give an extract of it in this place, which may contribute to the reader's having an idea of his genius and stile.

I was fifteen years old, says he, when I left off going to school, at which time my father consulted with his friends how to dispose of me. Several did not approve my being brought up to letters, because much time and expence were necessary for  
success

success in them. They considered that I was not rich, and that in learning a trade, I should soon be able to supply myself with the means of life, without being a charge to my father or family. This advice was followed, and I was put into the hands of an uncle, who was an excellent sculptor. I did not dislike this art, because I had amused myself very early in making little works of wax, in which I succeeded tolerably well: besides which, sculpture did not seem so much a trade to me, as an elegant diversion. I was therefore set to work, to try how I should take to it. But I began by laying on the chissel so clumsily upon the stone, which had been given me to work upon, and was very fine, that it broke under the weight of my fists. My uncle was so violently angry, that he could not help giving me several blows: so that my apprenticeship began with tears.

I ran home crying bitterly, and related this unfortunate adventure, shewing the marks of the blows I had received, which exceedingly afflicted my mother. In the evening I went to bed, and did nothing but ruminate upon what had happened all night. In my sleep I had a dream, which made a very lively impression upon me. I thought I saw two women. The one was rough and uncombed, with dirty hands, sleeves tucked up, and her face all covered with sweat and dust, in short, such as my uncle was when at work. The other had a graceful air, a sweet and smiling aspect, and was very neat, though modest, in her attire. After having eagerly pulled me to and fro, to make me join one of them, they referred the decision of their difference to my own choice, and pleaded their cause alternately.

The first began thus: "Son, I am sculpture,  
 "whom you have lately espoused, and whom you  
 "have known from your infancy, your uncle hav-

## OF PHILOLOGERS.

“ ing made himself very famous by me. If you  
 “ will follow me, without hearkening to the sooth-  
 “ ing words of my rival, I will render you illu-  
 “ strious, not like her, by words, but deeds. For  
 “ besides, that you will become strong and vigo-  
 “ rous like me, you shall require an estimation not  
 “ subject to envy, nor one day the cause of your  
 “ ruin, like the charms of her who now endeavours  
 “ to seduce you. For the rest, be not in pain  
 “ upon account of my habit; it is that of Phi-  
 “ dias and Polycletus, and those other great sculp-  
 “ tors, who, when alive, were adored for their  
 “ works, and who are still adored with the gods  
 “ that they made. Consider how much praise and  
 “ glory you will acquire by treading in their steps,  
 “ and what joy you will give your father and  
 “ family.” This is very near what this lady said  
 to me in a rude gross tone, as artificers speak, but  
 with force and vivacity. After which, the other  
 addressed herself to me in these words.

“ I am erudition, who preside over all the  
 “ branches of polite knowledge. Sculpture has  
 “ displayed the advantages you would have with  
 “ her. But if you hearken to her, you will al-  
 “ ways continue a miserable artificer, exposed to  
 “ the contempt and insults of the world, and com-  
 “ pelled to make your court to the great for sub-  
 “ sistence. Should you even become the most  
 “ excellent in your art, you will only be admired,  
 “ whilst none will envy your condition. But if  
 “ you follow me, I will teach you whatever is  
 “ most noble and most excellent in the universe,  
 “ and whatever antiquity boasts of remarkable. I  
 “ will adorn thy soul with the most exalted vir-  
 “ tues, such as modesty, justice, piety, humanity,  
 “ equity, prudence, patience, and the love of  
 “ whatever is virtuous and laudable; for these are  
 “ the real ornaments of the soul. Instead of that  
 “ mean



“ mean drefs of your’s, I will beftow upon thee a  
“ majestic one, like that thou feefte me wear; and  
“ from poor and unknown, I will render thee illu-  
“ ftrious and opulent, worthy of the higheft em-  
“ ployments, and capable of attaining them. If  
“ thou defireft to travel into foreign countries, I  
“ will caufe thy renown to go before thee. Peo-  
“ ple will come from all parts to confult thee as  
“ an oracle: the whole world will homage and  
“ adore thee. I will even give thee fo much  
“ boasted immortality, and make thee furvive for  
“ ever in the remembrance of men. Consider  
“ what *Æſchines* and *Demofthenes*, the admira-  
“ tion of all ages, became by my means. *Socrates*,  
“ who at firft followed Sculpture, my rival, no  
“ ſooner knew me, than he abandoned her for me.  
“ Has he had caufe to repent his choice? Will you  
“ renounce fuch honours, riches, and authority, to  
“ follow a poor unknown, who has nothing to  
“ give thee, but the mallet and chiffel, the low  
“ instruments ſhe holds in her hands, who is re-  
“ duced to get the means of life by the ſweat of  
“ her brows, and to be more intent on poliſhing a  
“ piece of ſtone, than in poliſhing herſelf?”

She had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, than ſtruck with her promiſes, and not having yet forgot the blows I had received, I ran to embrace her almoſt before ſhe ceaſed to ſpeak. The other, tranſported with rage and indignation, was immediately changed into a ſtatue, as is related of *Niobe*. Erudition thereupon, to reward my choice, made me aſcend with her into her chariot, and touching her winged horſes, ſhe carried me from eaſt to weſt, making me ſcatter univerſally, ſomething I know not what, of cœleſtial and divine, that cauſed mankind to look up with aſtoniſhment, and to load me with bleſſings and praiſes. She afterwards brought

me back into my own country, crowned with honour and glory; and restoring me to my father, who expected me with great impatience: "Behold," said she to him, pointing to the robe I had on, "of how exalted a fortune you would have been deprived your son, had I not interposed." Here ended my dream.

Lucian concludes this short discourse with observing, that his design, in relating this dream, which seems entirely a fiction of his own, was to inculcate the love of virtue in youth, and to encourage them by his example to surmount all the difficulties they may meet with in their course, and to consider poverty as no obstacle to real merit.

The effect this dream had, was to kindle in him an ardent desire to distinguish himself by the study of polite learning, to which he entirely devoted himself. We may judge of the progress he made in it, by the erudition that appears in his writings upon all manner of subjects; which gave me reason to place him amongst the philologists.

He says himself, that he embraced the profession of an advocate: but that abhorring the clamour and chicanery of the bar, he had recourse to philosophy as to an asylum.

It appears also from his writings, that he was a rhetorician, who professed eloquence, and composed declamations and harangues upon different subjects, and even pleadings, though none of his making, have come down to us.

He settled first at Antioch; from whence he went into Ionia and Greece, and afterwards into Gaul and Italy: but his longest residence was at Athens. In his extreme old age, he accepted the office of register to the præfect of Egypt. I shall not enter into a circumstantial account of the particulars of his life, which are of little importance  
to

to my subject. He lived to the reign of Commodus, to whom he inscribed the history of Alexander the Impostor, after the death of Marcus Aurelius.

He left abundance of writings upon different subjects. The purity of the Greek tongue, and the clear, agreeable, lively, and animated style, in which they are wrote, give the reader great pleasure. In his dialogues of the dead, he has hit that admirable simplicity, and natural pleasantry of humour, which are so well adapted to a manner of writing, which is extremely difficult, though it does not seem so, because a vast number of personages, very different in their age and condition, are introduced speaking in it, each according to their peculiar character.

His writings have this advantage, as Quintilian has observed of Cicero's, that they may be useful to beginners, and no less so to the more advanced. He is wonderful in his narration, and has an abundance in him, which may be of great service to geniuses naturally dry and barren.

He treats fable in a manner at once agreeable and very proper to impress it upon the memory, which is of no small advantage for the understanding of the poets. He paints admirably in a thousand places the miseries of this life, the vanity of mankind, the pride of the philosophers, and the arrogance of the learned.

It is however true, that choice and discernment are necessary in reading this author, who, in many of his works, shews little respect for modesty, and makes open profession of impiety, equally deriding the christian religion, of which he speaks in many places with extreme contempt, and the pagan superstitions, of which he shews the ridicule. This Suidas occasioned his being called blasphemous and atheist. And indeed he followed the Epicurean philosophy,

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which differs little from atheism ; or rather he had neither religion, nor any fixed and constant principles, regarding every thing as uncertain and problematical, and making every thing matter of jest.

Suidas says, it was generally believed that he was torn in pieces by dogs, as a judgment for his presumption in making Christ the subject of his raillery. It were to be wished that this fact was better attested.

## AULUS GELLIUS.

Aulus Gellius (or by corruption Agellius) was a grammarian, who lived in the second century, in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, and some other emperors his successors. He studied grammar at Rome, and philosophy at Athens, under Calvisius Taurus, from whence he afterwards returned to Rome.

Gell. in.  
Præf.

He rendered himself famous by his *Noctes Atticæ*, which name he gave to a collection he made for his children of whatever he had learned, that was fine, either in reading authors, or from the conversation of learned men. He called it so, because he had composed it at Athens during the winter, when the length of the nights afforded more time for application. Macrobius has copied several things from him without quoting him.

Lib. 10.  
c. 1.

There does not seem to be any great discernment in the topics he has chosen as the most considerable and most useful, which are generally grammatical remarks of little importance. We are, however, indebted to him for many fact and monuments of antiquity, no where else to be found. Of the twenty books that compose this work, the eighth is entirely lost ; nothing remaining of it but the titles of the chapters. That wherein he transiently treats

treats of the laws of the twelve tables is very much esteemed.

Aulus Gellius's style does not want force, but is often mixed with barbarous and improper words, which render it hard and obscure, and argues the age he lived in, from which little purity and elegance is to be expected.

Amongst the particulars, which he tell us of his Gell. l. 14. c. 2. life, he observes, that whilst he was very young, being chosen by the prætors to adjudge some little affairs of private persons, one was brought before him, in which a man claimed a sum of money, that he pretended to have lent another. He proved this only by some circumstances of no great certainty, and had neither writing nor witness: but he was a man of unquestionable honour, irreproachable life, and known integrity. His opposite, on the contrary, who denied the debt, was notorious for his sordid avarice; and was proved to have been often convicted of fraud and perfidy. Aulus Gellius, to adjudge this cause, had taken with him several of his friends versed in the business of the bar, but who desired nothing so much as dispatch, having a great deal of other affairs to attend. Hence they made no difficulty to conclude, that a man could not be obliged to pay a debt, when there was no proofs that he owed it.

Aulus Gellius could not resolve to dismiss the cause in this manner, believing one of the parties very capable of denying what he owed, and the other incapable of demanding what was not his due. He therefore referred judgment to another day, and went to consult Favorinus, who was then alive and at Rome: he was a philosopher of great reputation. Favorinus, upon his proposing the case to him, repeated a passage of Cato, which says, that on these occasions, where proofs were  
wanting,

wanting, the antient custom of the Romans was to examine, which of the two were the honefter man; and, when they were equally so, or equally otherwise, to adjudge the cause in favour of the person sued: from whence Favorinus concluded, that with regard to two persons, so different in their characters as the parties in the cause, there was no difficulty to believe an honest man preferable to a knave. Whatever respect Aulus Gellius might have for this philosopher, he could not entirely give into his opinion; and, determining to do nothing against his conscience, he declined passing judgment in an affair, into which he could not sufficiently penetrate. The case would have no difficulty with us, because the pretended debtor would be put to his oath, and be believed upon it.

## ATHENÆUS.

Athenæus was of Naucratis, antiently a famous city of Egypt, upon an arm of the Nile that took its name from it. He lived in the reign of the Emperor Commodus. He composed a work in Greek, which he called *Dipnosophista*, that is to say, *the banquet of the learned*; which abounds with curious and learned enquiries, and gives abundance of light into the Grecian antiquities. We have only an abridgment or extracts of the first books of his *Dipnosophista*, made, as Casaubon believes, at Constantinople, five or six hundred years ago.

Voss. hist.  
gr. l. 2.  
c. 15.

## JULIUS POLLUX.

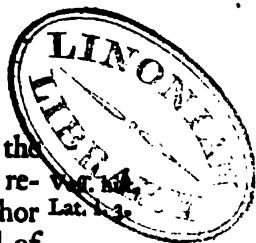
Julius Pollux was the countryman and cotemporary of Athenæus. He inscribed to Commodus, when only Cæsar, in the life-time of Marcus Aurelius, the ten books which we have of his under the title of *Onomasticon*. It is a collection of the synonymous words by which the best Greek authors express

press the same thing. He was apparently one of the præceptors of Commodus. He pleased that prince with his fine voice, who gave him the chair of professor of eloquence, which had been founded at Athens. Philostratus, who places him amongst the sophists, ascribes to him a great knowledge of the Greek language, a taste for what was well or ill wrote, and genius enough for eloquence, but little art.

Philost. p.  
589, 390.

## SOLINUS.

C. Julius Solinus has left us a description of the earth, under the name of *Polynistor*. Vossius relates many opinions upon the time when this author lived, and concludes, that all which can be said of it is, that he preceded St. Jerom, who cites him, that is to say, after the first century, and before the end of the fourth. His work is only an extract from several authors, particularly Pliny the Naturalist, and is done with no great genius and judgment.



## PHILOSTRATUS.

There were many sophists of this name. We shall speak here only of him who wrote the life of Apollonius Tyanæus. He was one of the learned men, that frequented the court of the empress Julia, the wife of Severus. He professed eloquence at Athens, and afterwards at Rome, in the reign of Severus. The life of Apollonius, written by Damis, the most zealous of his disciples, which was properly no more than memoirs very meanly composed, having fallen into Julia's hands, she gave it to Philostratus, who from those memoirs, and what he could extract from the works of Apollonius himself

Suidas.  
Ant. J. C.  
194.

self, and other writings, compiled the history we have of him.

Euseb. in  
Hier.

Eusebius asserts, that it were easy to shew, that a great part of his narration contradict themselves, and breathe nothing but fable and romance. Nor is he afraid to add, that his whole work abounds with fictions and falsities. Photius, who briefly repeats part of the facts of this history, treats many of them as impertinent fables. Suidas speaks of the same effect.

Phot.  
c. 44.

The latter, besides the life of Apollonius, ascribes many other writings to Philostratus, and amongst the rest, four books of allegories and descriptions, which are still extant, and have been judged a work of great beauty, well sustained, and written with all the delicacy of the Attic tongue.

#### MACROBIUS.

This author, at the head of his works, is called *Aurelius Theodosius Ambrosius Macrobius*. To which the epithet *Illustrious* is added, peculiar to those advanced to the highest dignities of the empire. He was of a country, where the Latin tongue was not commonly spoke, that is to say, of Greece or of the East, and lived in the reigns of Theodosius and his children.

Though it is not certain that this author is the Macrobius mentioned in the laws of Honorius and Theodosius, it is, however, scarce to be doubted, but he lived about that time, as all the persons he introduces speaking in his Saturnalia lived very near it.

Saturn. 1.  
1. in Prae-  
fat.

He feigns this conversation, in order to collect all that he knew of antiquities, which he intended for the instruction of his son Eustathius, to whom he addresses it. And as he assembles in it all the greatest



greatest and most learned persons of Rome during the vacations of the *Saturnalia*, he gives that name to his work. He professes to relate things generally in the express words of the authors from whom he extracts them, because his view in it was not to display his eloquence, but to instruct his son: besides which, being a Greek, it was not entirely easy for him to express himself in Latin. Accordingly his elocution is said to be neither pure nor elegant; and that in the passages where he speaks himself, a Greek seems talking broken Latin. As for the matters he treats, they have their beauty and erudition.

Besides the *Saturnalia*, there are two books of Macrobius's upon the dream, ascribed by Cicero to Scipio, done also for his son Eustathius, to whom he addresses them.

## DONATUS.

Donatus (*Ælius Donatus*) whose scholar St. Ant. J. C. Jerome was, taught grammar with great reputation at Rome, in the reign of the emperor Constantius.

We have the commentaries upon Virgil and Terence, which are pretended to be the same, ascribed by St. Jerom to his master Donatus. The best judges believe, that there may be something of his in the comment upon Virgil, but that abundance is added to it unworthy so able an hand. As to the comment upon Terence, it is attributed to Evanthius, otherwise called Eugraphius, who lived at the same time. Neither is it belived, that the lives of those two poets are done by Donatus. We have some tracts upon grammar which bear his name, and are esteemed.

## SERVIUS.

## SERVIUS.

Servius (*Maurus Honeratus*) lived about the reigns of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius. He is known by the comment upon Virgil ascribed to him. It is the general opinion, that this piece is only an abridgment extracted from the work of the true Servius, the loss of which these extracts have occasioned.

## STOBÆUS.

Johannes Stobæus, a Greek author, lived in the fifth century. What remains of his collection, has preserved some curious monuments of the antient poets and philosophers. It is believed, that amongst these fragments many things have been added by those who came after him.



### CHAPTER III. OF RHETORICIANS.

**T**HOSE who made it their profession to teach eloquence, and have wrote precepts upon it are called Rhetoricians.

Eloquence is the art of speaking well. One might believe that for the attainment of it, it would suffice to harken to and follow the voice of, nature. She seems to dictate to us what it is necessary to say, and often even the manner of saying it. Do we not every day see a multitude of persons, who without art or study, and by the pure force of genius, can give order, perspicuity, eloquence, and, above all, fine sense to their discourse? What more is wanting.

It is\* true, that without the aid of nature, precepts are of no use: but it is as true, that they very much support and strengthen her, in serving her as a rule and guide. Precepts are no more than observations, which have been made upon what was either fine or defective in discourse. For, as † Cicero very well observes, eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence. These reflections, reduced to order, formed what is called Rhetoric. Now who doubts, but they may be of

\* Illud in primis testandum est, nihil præcepta atque artes valere nisi adjuvante natura. *Quintil.* l. 1. in *Proæm.*

† Non esse eloquentiam ex artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia  
um. 1. *De Orat.* n. 146.

Initium dicendi dedit natura; initium artis observatio. *Quintil.*  
J 3. c. 2.

great service for attaining and improving the talent of speaking.

Quintilian, in the third book of his *Institutions Oratoria*, enumerates a considerable number of the ancient rhetoricians, as well Greek as Latin. I shall expatiate only upon those, whose names and histories are best known, shall slightly pass over others, and even say nothing of many. Mr. Gibert, who has been professor of rhetoric in the college of Mazarine almost fifty years with great reputation, and has several times filled, and always with the same success, the honourable place of principal in the university of Paris, has composed a work upon the subject I now treat, abounding with erudition, of which, as an antient friend, he has given me permission to make all the use I should think fit.

## ARTICLE I.

## OF THE GREEK RHETORICIANS.

EMPEDOCLES. CORAX. TISIAS.

**E**MPEDOCLES of Agrigentum, a celebrated philosopher, is supposed to be the first that had any knowledge of rhetoric; and *Corax* and *Tisias*, both Sicilians, are said to be the first who reduced it to rules. They had many disciples, better known under the name of Sophists, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

Quintil.  
l. 3. c. 1.  
Cic. in  
Brut.  
n. 46.

P L A T O.

Though Plato seems to have undertaken to discredit rhetoric, he justly deserves to be ranked in the number of the most excellent rhetoricians, having only censured and ridiculed those who dishonoured this art by the abuse of it, and the bad taste of eloquence they endeavoured to introduce. The solid and judicious reflections, which we find in several of his dialogues, especially in the *Phædrus* and *Gorgias*, may be considered as a good rhetoric, and contains the most important principles of it.

A R I S T O T L E.

Aristotle is acknowledged, with reason, the chief and prince of rhetoricians. His rhetoric, divided into three books, has always been considered by the learned as a masterpiece, and the most consummate treatise that ever appeared upon this subject. We

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are

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are indebted for this work to its author's jealousy, or rather emulation. \* Isocrates, at that time very old, taught eloquence at Athens with extraordinary success, and was followed by a great number of illustrious disciples. I might for that reason have given him place amongst the rhetoricians: but I refer speaking of him to another title. So shining a reputation alarmed Aristotle. By an happy parody to a verse of a Greek tragedy, he said to himself: *It is a shame for me to keep silence, and let Isocrates speak.*

Ἀλχρον σιωπῶν, Ἰσοκράτης δ' ἰὼν λόγῳ.

Till then he had solely taught philosophy; which he continued to do only in the mornings, and opened his school in the afternoon, to teach pupils the precepts of rhetoric.

It appears that Aristotle composed several works upon rhetoric. Cicero speaks in more than one place of a collection, in which this † philosopher had inserted all the precepts of that art which had appeared from Tifias, whom he considers as the inventor of it, to his own times; and had treated them with such elegance, perspicuity, and order, that people no longer had recourse to their authors for them, but only to Aristotle.

De Invent.  
l. 2. n. 6.  
De Orat.  
l. 2. n. 160.

\* Itaque ipse Aristoteles, cum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret—mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinæ suæ, versumque quemdam Philoctete paulo secus dixit. Ille enim tacere ait sibi esse turpe cum barbaris; hic autem, cum Isocratem pateretur dicere. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 141.

Isocratis præstantissimi discipuli fuerunt in omni studiorum genere; eoque jam seniore—pomeridianis scholis Aristoteles præcipere artem oratoriam coepit. *Quint.* l. 3. c. 1.

† Nominatim cujusque præcepta magnâ conquista curâ perspicuè conscripsit, atque enodata diligenter exposuit; ac tantum invento-ribus ipsis suavitate & brevitate dicendi præstitit, ut nemo illorum præcepta ex ipsorum libris cognoscat; sed omnes, qui, quod illi præcipiant, velint intelligere, ad hunc quasi ad quemdam multo commodiorem explicatorem convertantur. *De Invent.*

Immediately

Immediately after Aristotle's rhetoric, consisting of three books, there is another intituled, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, as addressed to Alexander, and composed expressly for him. But all the learned agree that it is not Aristotle's.

He had composed some books upon this subject in the name of Theodectes. What Valerius Maximus relates on this head, would do honour to Aristotle, if it were true. He tells us, that to please Theodectes, one of his disciples, for whom he had a particular regard, he had made him a present of these books, and given him leave to publish them in his own name: but that afterwards repenting his having inconsiderately transferred his glory to another, he declared himself the author of them. Accordingly he cites them as in his rhetoric. It continued a doubt to the time of Quintilian, whether this work was wrote by Aristotle or Theodectes.

Lib. 3. c. 9.  
P. 593.  
Quintil.  
l. 2. c. 15.

However it were, his rhetoric, which is come down to us, and which no-body disputes being his, is the most generally esteemed of all his works, for its wonderful order, the solidity of the reflections incorporated with the precepts, and the profound knowledge of the human heart, which appears particularly in his treatise upon the manners and passions. Masters whose province it is to teach youth eloquence, cannot study so excellent a book too much. The same may be said of his Poetics.

#### ANAXIMENES.

Anaximenes of Lampsacus is generally taken for the author of the rhetoric addressed to Alexander. It has its merit, but is very much inferior to that of Aristotle. He wrote upon many other subjects.

## DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS.

Dionysius Halicarnassæus is of the first rank amongst the historians and rhetoricians. I consider him in this place only under the latter denomination.

Soon after Augustus had terminated the civil wars, about the 187th olympiad, and twenty-eight years before Jesus Christ, Dionysius of Halicarnassæus came to settle at Rome, where he resided twenty-eight years. It is believed, from some passages in his writings, that he taught rhetoric there, either publicly or in private.

Vol. II.  
P. 21, 64.

All that he wrote upon this head is not come down to us. We have a treatise of this author upon *the disposition of words*, another upon *the Art*; a third, which is not perfect, of *the characters of the antient writers*, and especially the orators. In the first part he speaks of *Lyfias*, *Isocrates*, and *Isæus*; in the second he treated of *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, and *Æschines*; nothing remains of it but what relates to Demosthenes, nor is that fragment entire. He adds also something on Dinarchus. Two letters follow: the one to Ammæus, wherein he examines *whether Demosthenes formed himself upon Aristotle's rhetoric*; the other to one Pompeius, wherein *he gives an account of what he thinks vicious in Plato's diction*: We have still his *comparisons* of Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon, Philistus, and Theopompus. And, lastly, we have his reflections upon *what forms the peculiar character of Thucydides*. The end of these last works is to make known the characters of the authors of whom he speaks, and to shew wherein they are and are not imitable.

What we have of this author's is not therefore a rhetoric in form, but fragments of rhetoric, or certain points of that art, on which he thought it to treat.



His inquiry into the most celebrated writers of antiquity, and the judgment he passes on them, may be of great use in forming the taste. It is true, we are shocked at first with the liberty he takes in arraigning certain articles of Plato and Thucydides, for whom, in other respects, he professes the highest esteem and regard. It would be very useful, and not disagreeable to the reader, to enter into the exact discussion of his judgments, and to examine, without prejudice, and with attention, whether they are or are not founded in reason and truth. Neither the plan of my work, nor the mediocrity of my talents, admit me to think of such an undertaking. Our author declares in several passages, that it is neither the desire to exalt himself, nor to depreciate others, that are his motive and guide in his criticisms, but the sincere intent of being useful to his readers: which is an happy disposition for forming right judgments.

Vol. II.  
P. 120,  
137, 161.

A very short fragment which remains of his, shews us his motive for composing his treatises of rhetoric: this was the desire of contributing to the establishment of good taste in regard to eloquence. From the death of Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, it had suffered great alterations in Greece, and by an imperceptible, but always increasing, decline, it was at last sunk to such an ebb, that it could scarce be known for itself. We shall see in the sequel, that this alteration and decay began by Demetrius Phalereus. Instead of that manly and natural beauty, that noble and antient simplicity, that air of dignity and grandeur, which had acquired it universal respect and unlimited empire over the minds and passions of mankind; its rival, I mean False Eloquence, from the delightful regions of Asia, tacitly laboured to supplant it, made use of paint and glaring colours for that purpose, and assumed such ornaments as were best

Vol. II.  
P. 80, 81.

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suited to dazzle the eyes, and illude the mind. This last-come, with no other merit than that of a splendid but vain attire, though a stranger, at length established herself in all the cities of Greece, to the exclusion of the other, a native of the country, who saw herself exposed to the oblivion, contempt, and even insults of those, who had formerly so long and so justly admired her. Our author, in this point, compares Greece to an house, wherein a concubine of art and address, who by her charms and insinuations has gained an entire ascendand over the husband, has introduced disorder and depravity, and governors without controul; whilst the lawful wife, become in some measure a slave, has the affliction to see herself despised and neglected, and is every day reduced to suffer the most sensible affronts and indignities. He observes with joy, that sound eloquence has for some time resumed her antient credit, and compelled her rival in her turn to give her place. All he says here regards Greece; and he ascribes so happy a change to the good taste which then prevailed at Rome, from whence it had already diffused itself, and daily would continue to do so more and more, into all the cities of Greece, that emulated each other in imitating the example of the reigning city. It was to contribute to this revival of eloquence in his country, that Dionysius Halicarnasseus composed all his books upon rhetoric: a laudable motive, and well worthy of a good and zealous citizen.

## HERMOGENES.

Philostr.

de vit.

Sophist.

l. 2. p. 575.

Hermogenes was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. That prince, having had the curiosity to hear his lectures, was charmed with them, and made him great presents. He began to profess rhetoric at

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at the fifteenth year of his age; and was but eighteen when he composed his book upon it, which is esteemed a very good work by the learned. But, by a very singular event, at the age of four and twenty, he became stupid, and continued so during the rest of his life. He died in the beginning of the third century.

### APHTHONIUS.

Aphthonius lived about the end of the second age of the church, or the beginning of the third. Instead of writing upon rhetoric, as others had done, only for those who had made some progress in the knowledge and use of that art, in order to perfect them in it; Aphthonius wrote solely for children, his precepts extending no farther than the compositions he believed it necessary for them to make, to prepare them for what was greatest in eloquence.

### LONGINUS.

Dionysius Longinus was a native of Athens, but by descent of Syria. Though he excelled very much in philosophy, Plotinus says however, that he was less a philosopher than a man of letters: and indeed it was by the latter that particularly he acquired the greatest reputation. He had abundance of erudition, and the most refined, exact, and solid discernment in judging works of wit, and remarking their beauties and defects.

Of all his works, time has left us only his treatise of *the Sublime*, which is one of the finest fragments of antiquity. We have Mr. Boileau's excellent translation of it, which has more the air of an original than a copy, has made all the world judges of it's merit, and has justified the general esteem

esteem the learned always had for its author. Cæcilius, who lived in the time of Augustus, had before composed a treatise upon the Sublime: but he had contented himself with explaining what it was, without laying down any rules for obtaining that sublimity, which does not so much persuade, as ravish and transport the mind of the reader. It is the latter point Longinus undertakes to treat on in his work.

Amongst the examples which he gives of this shining and magnificent manner of stile, he speaks of Moses in these terms: "The legislator of the  
 " Jews, who was no common person, having ex-  
 " tremely well conceived the grandeur and power  
 " of God, expresses them in all their dignity in  
 " the beginning of his laws, in these words: *God*  
 " *said, let there be light and there was light: Let*  
 " *the earth be, and the earth was.*"\*

Aurel.  
 Vict. in  
 Aurel.

Zof. l. 1.

Longinus taught Zenobia the Greek language, who espoused the celebrated Odenatus, king of Palmyra, and afterwards emperor of the Romans. It is said, that he advised that princess to write the haughty letter she sent the emperor Aurelian, during the siege of Palmyra; and that it was for that reason Aurelian caused him to be put to death. He suffered that sentence with great fortitude, consoling those who expressed their grief for his destiny.

\* In the French the words are, *Que la lumiere se fassé, & la lumiere se fit; Que la terre se fit, elle fut faite.* Mr. Rollin says, there is more energy and sublimity in the Hebrew, which has literally, *Que la lumiere soit, & la lumiere fut: Let there be light, and there was light; exactly as in the English version.* The word *faire*, continues he, seems to imply some effort, and a succession of time; whereas the terms, *Que la lumiere soit, & la lumiere fut; Let there be light, and there was light; express better a rapid obedience to the Lord of Nature's command.*

DEME-

## DEMETRIUS.

There is a treatise in Greek *upon Elocution*, which, though a very small fragment of rhetoric, is however of sufficient value to do honour to its author, and is ascribed to a person whose name reflects no less honour upon the work : this is the famous Demetrius Phalereus, so called from the Athenian port Phalerus, where he was born. The critics do not however entirely agree that this work was his; some of whom attribute it to Demetrius Alexandrinus, an author of much later date than the former; and others believe it to have been written by Dionysius Halicarnasseus. Mr. Gibert proves, by a very judicious examination of the work itself, its stile and principles, that it was not composed by Demetrius Phalereus.

## ARTICLE II.

## OF THE LATIN RHETORICIANS.

**I**T was not without difficulty and opposition that the Latin rhetoricians succeeded in establishing themselves at Rome. It is well known that this city, solely intent in the first ages upon establishing its power, and extending its conquests, did not apply itself at all to the study of the polite arts and sciences. Four or five hundred years elapsed, before they were in any esteem at Rome. Philosophy was absolutely unknown there, as well as all other eloquence, but that which proceeds from nature and happiness of genius, without the aid of art or precepts. The Grecian philosophers and rhetoricians, who went to Rome, carried thither with them the taste for the arts which they professed. We have seen that Paulus Æmilius, in the tour he made into Greece after having conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, demanded of the Athenians, that they would chuse him an excellent philosopher to finish the education of his children.

An. Rom.  
583.  
Ant. J. C.  
367.

This custom had taken place for some time before at Rome, but was soon interrupted by an edict, passed in the consulship of Strabo and Messala, by which it was decreed, that all philosophers and rhetoricians should quit Rome; exercises in their way, unknown till then, giving offence to the state.

An. Rom.  
591.  
Ant. J. C.  
161.  
Sueton. de  
clar. rhet.  
c. 1.

Five or six years after this edict, ambassadors arrived at Rome from Athens upon a particular affair. All the young Romans, who had any taste for study, went to visit them, and were transported

An. Rom.  
597.  
Ant. J. C.  
155.

\* *Primò quidém Romani, qui nullum artis præceptum esse arbitrantur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, consequébantur. Cic. l. 1. de Orat. n. 14.*

All

with admiration on hearing them discourse. Car- Plut. in  
neades especially, one of those ambassadors, in Cat. Cens.  
whose eloquence force united with abundance of P. 349.  
grace and delicacy, acquired extraordinary reputa-  
tion. The whole city rang with his praise. It was  
universally talked, that a Greek was arrived of ad-  
mirable talents; that his great knowledge made him  
more than man; and that his equally animated and  
delightful eloquence inspired such an ardour for stu-  
dy in youth, as induced them to renounce all other  
pleasures and avocations. The Romans saw with  
great satisfaction their children addict themselves to  
the Greek erudition, passionately attached to these  
wonderful persons. Cato only, as soon as this  
love of learning began to gain ground in the city,  
was much concerned at it; apprehending, that the  
ambition and emulation of youth might be en-  
grossed by it, and that in consequence they might  
prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting well.  
But when he saw that the discourses of these philo-  
sophers, translated into Latin by one of the senators,  
were in great vogue throughout the city, and  
were read with universal applause; he employed all  
his credit in the senate to terminate the affair which  
had brought the ambassadors to Rome, and to  
hasten their departure. "Let them return to their  
schools, said he, and teach there as long as they  
please, the children of the Greeks: but let the  
Roman youth hear nothing within these walls  
except the laws and the magistrates, as they did  
before their arrival." As if the study of philo-  
sophy and eloquence was incompatible with obe-  
dience to the laws and magistrates.

The \* departure and absence of these philosophers  
did not extinguish the ardour for study, which their

\* Auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitisque eorum literis, adhibitisque doctoribus, incredibili quodam nostri homines dicendi studio flagrarunt. *Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 4.*

discourses had inspired. The taste for eloquence became the universal passion of the Roman youth; and, far from abating the desire of military glory, as Cato had apprehended, it only served to exalt its value and merit. We may judge of this from what history tells us of Scipio Africanus, who lived at that time. He was of so refined and delicate a taste in regard to polite learning, that, as well as Lælius, he was suspected of having some share in writing Terence's comedies, the most perfect work we have in that kind. He had always with him persons † of the first rank in learning, as Panætius and Polybius, who accompanied him even in the field. The latter informs us, that Scipio, whilst very young, and consequently even at the time we speak of, had a very strong inclination for the sciences, and that abundance of learned men in every kind came daily from Greece to Rome. Now was Scipio the worse captain, for having been a man of letters?

From that time the study of eloquence, during almost fifty years, was so highly esteemed at Rome, that it was regarded as one of the most effectual methods for attaining the highest dignities in the commonwealth. But it was taught only by the Greek rhetoricians: whence all the exercises, by which the youth were formed, were made in a foreign language, and in the mean time that of the country, that is to say, the Latin tongue, was almost universally neglected. Who does not perceive how much this custom, if I may venture to say so, was contrary to right reason and good sense? For, after all, it was in Latin that these young persons were one day to plead at the

† Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnique doctrinæ & auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentis ingenio viros, domi militiæque secum habuerit. *Vell. Patrc.* l. 1. c. 13.



bar, to harangue the people, and give their opinions in the senate: it was therefore in Latin they ought to have been taught to speak and compose. I do not say, that it was necessary to exclude compositions in Greek. As they could find no perfect models of eloquence but in the Greek orators, it was absolutely proper for them to study that language thoroughly, and to compose in Greek, in order to form themselves upon such excellent models. Cicero used this custom, even when more advanced in years, for which he gives this reason: De clar. Orat. n. 310.

“ I did this, says he, because the Greek language, supplying more ornaments, accustomed me to compose in the same manner in Latin. Besides, studying under such great masters of eloquence, who were all Greeks, it would not have been in their power to have instructed and corrected my compositions, if I had not made them in Greek.”

But he tells us, that he united them also with Latin exercises, though less frequently.

I have said that Cicero was at that time something advanced in life. For we shall soon see, that he composed his first studies only in Greek, the Latin rhetoricians not being yet established at Rome, or having but very lately begun to teach there. This it is time to explain, with which I shall introduce my account of the Latin rhetoricians, of whom I am to speak in this article.

L. PLOTIUS GALLUS.

Custom has a kind of despotic sway, and does not give place even to reason and experience without exceeding difficulty. Suetonius, upon the authority of Cicero, in a letter which is lost, informs us, that L. Plotius Gallus was the first who taught rhetoric at Rome in the Latin tongue. This he did De clar. rhet. c. 2. An. Rom. 658. Ant. J. C. 94.

did with great success, and had a great concourse of hearers.

Plut. in  
Cic.  
p. 361.

Cicero, at that time very young, studied rhetoric, but under Greek masters, who alone till then had taught it at Rome. He had acquired so great a reputation amongst his fellow pupils, that, out of particular distinction, and to do him honour, when they left the schools, they always placed him in the midst of them; and the fathers of those children, who every day heard them extol the pregnancy of his wit, and the maturity of his judgment, went expressly to the schools to be witnesses of them in person, not being able to believe all the great things related of him.

It was at this time \* Plotius opened a rhetoric school at Rome. All the Roman youth, that had the least taste of eloquence, were passionately fond of hearing him. Cicero, then but fourteen years old, would gladly have followed that example, and improved from the lessons of this new master whose reputation was very great throughout the whole city; and was sensibly concerned on being debarred that liberty. "I was prevented, says he, by the  
" authority and advice of the most learned persons,  
" who were of opinion, that the exercises of rhetoric in the Greek tongue were better adapted to  
" forming the minds of youth."

Lib. 2. de  
Orat. n. 2.

It is not to be doubted, that Cicero means Crassus in this place: he explains himself more clearly in another, where he says, that, whilst he was very young, he studied with his cousins, the sons of Aculeo, under masters chosen according to the taste and advice of Crassus.

\* Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum Latine docere coepisse Lucium Plotium, quemdam: ad quem cum fieret concursus, quod studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant Græcis exercitationibus ali melius ingenium posse. Cic. apud Sueton. de clar. Rhet. c. 2.

Th

The Latin rhetoricians were in great esteem at Rome, and their schools much frequented: but a terrible storm rose up against them. The censors, Domitius Ænobarbus and Licinius Crassus, passed an edict in regard to them, the tenor of which Suetonius has preserved. "We have been informed, say those censors, that there are persons, who, under the name of Latin rhetoricians, set themselves up for teachers of a new art, and that youth assemble in their schools, where they pass whole days in idleness. Our ancestors have delivered down to us, what they desired their children should be taught, and to what schools they should go. These new establishments, so opposite to the customs and usages of our forefathers, are not pleasing to us, and appear contrary to discipline and good order. Wherefore we think it incumbent on us to notify this our opinion, as well to those who have opened such schools, as to such as frequent them, and to declare that such innovation is not agreeable to us."

An. Rom.  
660.  
Ant. J. C.  
92.  
Sueton. de  
clar. rhet.  
c. 1.

The Crassus, of whom I have hitherto spoken, is one of the persons, whom Cicero introduces in his books *de oratore*. That dialogue is supposed to have passed two years after the censorship of Crassus. He makes an apology in it for his edict against the Latin rhetoricians. "I silenced \* them, says he, not to oppose, as some have reproached me, the

An. Rom.  
662.  
Ant. J. C.  
90.

\* Etiam Latini, si diis placet, hoc biennio magistri dicendi extiterunt; quos ego censor edicto meo sustuleram: non quo (ut, nescio quos dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adolescentium nollem; sed contra, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Nam apud Græcos, cuiusmodi essent, videbam tamen esse, præter hanc exercitationem linguæ, doctrinam aliquam & humanitatem dignam scientia. Hos verò novos magistros nihil intelligebam posse docere, nisi ut auderent: quod, etiam cum bonis rebus conjunctum, per se ipsum est magnopere fugiendum. Hoc cum unum traderetur, & cum impudentiæ ludus esset, putavi esse censoris, ne longius id serperet, providere. *Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 24.*

" progress

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“ progress of youth in eloquence, but, on the con-  
 “ trary, to prevent their minds from being cor-  
 “ rupted and stupified, and their contracting pre-  
 “ sumption and impudence. For indeed I observ-  
 “ ed that amongst the Greek rhetoricians, how in-  
 “ different soever their merit, besides the exercise  
 “ of speaking, in which their profession properly  
 “ consists, there always was a fund of solid and  
 “ estimable knowledge. But I did not conceive  
 “ that our youth could acquire any thing under  
 “ these new masters, unless it were boldness and  
 “ confidence, always blameable, even when united  
 “ with other good qualities. As this therefore  
 “ was all they could learn of them, and their  
 “ schools, to speak properly, were only schools of  
 “ impudence, I thought it my duty, as censor, to  
 “ put a stop to such abuses, and prevent their per-  
 “ nicious consequences.”

All I have hitherto said proves how liable, in  
 point of erudition and science, new methods and  
 establishments are to obstacles and contradictions,  
 even from persons of the greatest merit, and of  
 the best intentions in other respects. But utility  
 and truth at last prevail, and open themselves a way  
 through all the difficulties that oppose them. When  
 these storms and troubles are blown over; when  
 prejudices, frequently blind and precipitate, have  
 given place to serious and calm reflection; and  
 things are examined with temper and in cool  
 blood; we are surprised that practices so useful in  
 themselves should have been capable of meeting  
 with such opposition. This is the fate, though of  
 a different kind, the philosophy of Descartes ex-  
 perience amongst us, which was at first attacked so  
 warmly, and is now almost universally approved.

The same happened at Rome in regard to the  
 Latin rhetoricians. They perceived at length how  
 consistent it was with right reason and good sense

to form and exercise youth for eloquence in the language they were always to speak; and after these first shocks, the schools of the Latin rhetoricians were established in tranquillity, and did not a little contribute to the amazing progress of the study of eloquence in the succeeding years.

The Greek rhetoricians, however, were not neglected, and had a great share in the improvement of which I have been speaking. It is surprising to consider the ardour and passion, with which the Roman youth went to hear these masters, and even when of more advanced years. Cicero had begun to appear at the bar in his twenty-sixth year. His pleadings for S. Roscius Amerinus acquired him an extraordinary reputation. Molo, the celebrated Greek rhetorician, came to Rome about this time, as a deputy from the Rhodians. Cicero, highly capable as he already was, became his disciple, and thought himself happy and honoured in receiving lessons from him. After having pleaded two years, his health, or perhaps reasons of policy, having obliged him to suspend his application to business, and to make a voyage into Greece and Asia, besides the several masters of eloquence, whom he heard at Athens and elsewhere, he went expressly to Rhodes, to put himself again under the discipline of Molo; in order that so excellent a master might take pains in reforming, and, in a manner, in new-moulding his style: *Apollonio Moloni se Rhodi rursus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit.* Molo \* was a very excellent pleader, and com-

De clar.  
orat. n.  
312.

Ibid. n.  
315, 316.

Quintil.

\* Quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, inique ad eundem quem, Romæ audiveram, Molonem applicavi: cum actorem in veris causis, scriptoremque præstantem, tum in notandis animadvertendisque vitiis, & instituendo docendoque prudentissimum. Is dedit operam (si modò id consequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos & superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate & licentia reprimeret, & quasi extra ripas diffuentes coerceret. Ita recepi me, biennio post, non modo exercitator, sed prope mutatus. Nam & contentio nimia vocis refederat, & quasi deferbuerat oratio. *De clar. orat. n. 316.*

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posed

posed very finely : but his principal happiness lay in discerning and exploding the defects in the stile of those who applied themselves to him, and he had a wonderful happiness in correcting them, by the wise advice and solid instructions he gave them. He endeavoured, for I dare not say he effected it, (says Cicero) to correct and restrain a vicious redundance in my stile, which too licentiously overflowed its just bounds, and taught me not to abandon myself to the impetuosity of my years, and the fire of an imagination that wanted maturity and experience. Cicero confesses, that from thenceforth, a great alteration ensued in his manner, as well in regard to the tone of his voice, which he exerted no longer with so much vehemence, as his stile, which became more exact and correct.

These young Romans must have had a very warm desire to improve themselves in eloquence, to take so much pains in going to hear the rhetoricians, and not to blush, though already in great reputation, to become their disciples again, and to confess their still having occasion for their aid. But, on the other side, the merit of such rhetoricians must have been very solid and well established, to have acquired so great a confidence in it, and to have supported the idea which such persons as Cicero conceived of it.

Plotius, the first of the Latin rhetoricians, who gave occasion for what I have hitherto said, had, without doubt, colleagues and successors, who acquitted themselves of the same function with honour. Suetonius mentions several : but as they are little known, I proceed directly to Cicero, who indeed did not immediately teach eloquence as a master, but has left us excellent precepts upon it.

CICERO.

CICERO.

Cicero, by his treatises upon rhetoric, has justly merited the honour of being placed at the head of the Latin rhetorician, as he has by his orations that of the first rank amongst the orators.

His tracts upon rhetoric are: *Three books de Oratore*; one book intitled simply *the Orator*; *A dialogue*, intitled *Brutus*, upon the illustrious Orators; two books upon *Invention*; the *Partes Oratoriæ*, the complete Orator, and the *Topics*. In this enumeration of Cicero's works upon eloquence, I do not follow the order of time in which they were composed.

I. The three first are absolute master-pieces, in which what was called the *Roman urbanity*, *Urbanitas Romana*, prevails in a supreme degree, which answers to the atticism of the Greeks, that is to say, whatever was finest, most delicate, most animated, and, in a word, most consummate as to thought, expression, and tour of genius.

The three books of *the Orator* are, properly speaking, Cicero's rhetoric: not a dry rhetoric, stuck with precepts, and destitute of grace and beauty, but one that, with the solidity of principles and reflections, unites all the art, delicacy, and ornament, of which a subject of that nature is susceptible. He \* composed this work at the request of his brother Q. Cicero, who desired to have something more perfect of his than the books upon invention, which were the first-fruits of his youth, and by no means worthy the reputation he afterwards attained. To avoid the air and dryness of the

\* Vis enim, quoniam quædam pueris aut adolescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris inchoata atque rudia exciderunt, vix hac ætate digna & hoc usu—aliquid iisdem de rebus politius à nobis perfectiusque proferri. *De orat.* l. 1. n. 2.

schools, he treats on this subject in dialogues, wherein he introduces, as speakers, the greatest and most famous persons Rome had for wit, erudition, and eloquence. The time, wherein these dialogues are supposed to be held, is the 662d year from the foundation of Rome, and ninety years before Jesus Christ, in the consulship of L. Marcius Philippus and Sextus Julius Cæsar.

This manner of writing, I mean dialogue, is extremely difficult : because, without mentioning the variety of characters, which must every-where be equally sustained without the least deviation from them, two things that seem almost incompatible must unite in them, the simple and natural air of familiar discourse, with the elegant stile of the conversation of persons of wit. Plato, of all the ancient authors, is generally conceived to have succeeded best in dialogue. But we may indisputably give Cicero an equal rank with him, to say no more, especially in the treatises of which we now speak. I do not know whether my esteem and love for an orator, with whom I might say I have been brought up from my earliest infancy, prejudice and blind me in his favour ; but, in my opinion there is in these conversations a taste, a salt, a spirit, a grace, a native elegance, that can never be sufficiently admired.

The third of the books I speak of treats, amongst other subjects, of the choice and order of words, a dry and disagreeable topic in itself, but of great use to the Roman eloquence, and which, more than any thing, shews the profound genius and extent of mind of this orator. When he came first to the bar, he found the Roman eloquence absolutely destitute of an advantage, which infinitely exalted that of the Greeks, to which he had devoted his whole application, and of which he knew all the beauties, as well as if it had been his native tongue,



so familiar had he made it to him by close and profound study. This advantage was the sound, number, cadence, and harmony, of which the Greek is more susceptible than any other language, and which give it an incontestable superiority in this view to them all. Cicero, who was extremely zealous for the honour of his country, undertook to impart to it this advantage, of which, till then, the Greeks had been in sole possession.

He \* perceived that words, like soft wax, have a flexibility wonderfully capable of receiving every kind of form, and in being adapted in whatever manner we please. The proof of which is, that for all the different species of verse, which are very numerous; for all the diversity of styles, the simple, the florid, and the sublime; for all the effects which speech is capable of producing, to please, to convince, to move; words of a different nature are not employed; but, taken from one common heap, to use that expression, and alike disposed for every use, they lend themselves, at the poet's and orator's discretion, to be applied in whatever manner they think fit.

Cicero, well convinced of this principle, of which the reading and study of the Greek authors had given him a sensible proof, or rather which he had extracted from nature itself, undertook to add this charm to the Latin language, of which, be-

\* Nihil est tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam facile sequatur quocumque ducas, quam oratio. Ex hac versus, ex eadem dispares numeri conficiuntur: ex hac etiam soluta variis modis multorumque generum oratio. Non enim sunt alia sermonis, alia contentionis verba; neque ex alio genere ad usum quotidianum, alio ad scenam pompamque sumuntur: sed ea nos cum jacentia fustulimus è medio, sicut molliissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus & fingimus. Itaque tum graves sumus, tum subiles, tum medium quiddam tenemus: sic institutam nostram sententiam acquiritur orationis genus, idque ad omnem rationem, & aurium voluptatem, & animorum motum mutatur & flectitur. *De orat.* l. 3. 167, 177.

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fore his time, it was entirely destitute. This he effected with such success and promptitude, that in a few years it assumed a quite new form, and, what has no example, attained almost instantly a supreme perfection in this way. For every body knows, that generally the progress of arts and sciences is slow, and that they do not attain their final maturity but by degrees.

This was not the case in the matter of which we are speaking, that is to say, the number and harmony of speech. Cicero seized almost immediately the fine and the perfect, and introduced into his language, by the happy arrangement of his words, a sweetness, grace, and majesty, which almost equalled it with the Greek; and with which the ear, of all who have the least sensibility for sound and harmony, is still agreeably soothed. It is not surprising therefore, that this great orator, to secure to his language the advantage he had acquired it, and to perpetuate the use and possession of it, should think it incumbent on him to treat on this subject in all its extent. Accordingly he enters upon it with a vast enumeration of things, which cannot afford us any pleasure now, to whom this is a foreign language, but which was extremely useful and important at the time he wrote it; and it is easy to perceive, that he has treated on it with particular attention, and has employed the whole extent of his learning and capacity, to display it in all its brightest colours. Accordingly, Quintilian\* observes, that of all his works of rhetoric, this piece is the most elaborate.

The same service has been done the French language; and, if I mistake not, Balzac was the first who discerned himself, and made others discern,

\* Cui (M. Tullio) nescio an ulla pars hujus operis sit magis elaborata. *Lib. 9. c. 4.*

how susceptible it is of the graces of number, harmony, and cadence. Since his time, this part of composition has been very much improved: Mr. Flechier particularly, and all our good writers, leave us nothing to desire in this point. It is highly important to make youth attentive to it, and to accustom their ears to a lively and instantaneous discernment of what is sweet and agreeable, or harsh and dissonant, in the disposition of words. The treatise, lately published by the Abbé Olivat, upon the prosody of the French tongue, may be of great use to this purpose.

I have already said, that the three books *de Oratore* may be considered as the rhetoric of Cicero. And indeed he has included in it almost all the precepts of that art, not in the common didactic order of the schools, but in a more free manner, and one that seems less studied; to which he has annexed reflections that infinitely exalt their value, and shew their just use.

II. The book, intituled *the Orator*, does not give place to the former, either in beauty or solidity. Cicero states in it the idea of a perfect orator, not of one that ever was, but of such an one as may be. He sets a particular value upon this work, and seems to think of it with great satisfaction and complacency; and does not hesitate to own, that he employed the whole extent of his wit, and all the force of his judgment, in composing it; which is saying a great deal. He explains himself to this effect, in writing to a \* friend, who had highly ap-

\* Oratorem meum tantoperè à te probari vehementer gaudco. Mihi quidem super suadeo, me, quicquid habuerim judicii, in illum librum contulisse. Qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis; ego quoque aliquid sum. Sin aliter, non recuso quin, quantum de illo libro, tantundem de judicii mei fama detrahatur. Leptam nostrum cupio delectari jam talibus scriptis. Et si abest maturitas ætatis, jam tamen personare aures ejus hujusmodi vocibus non est inutile. *Epist. 19. l. 6. ad Famil.*

proved this work, and consents that whatever judgment the public formed of it, whether good or bad, shall determine the author's reputation. He adds, (which I mention for the sake of our youth) that he should be glad if young Lepta, who was his friend's son, begins so early to read works of that kind with some pleasure; because, though his years did not admit his making all the improvements they were capable of affording, it was of some consequence to him to be early affected with lessons of that sort.

III. The *Brutus* of Cicero is a dialogue concerning the most famous Greek and Roman orators who had appeared to his time: for he mentions none who were then alive, except Cæsar and Marcellus. This work was composed some time before the former. and perhaps the same year.

In the long enumeration contained in this book, wherein Cicero particularly remarks upon the stile of a great number of orators, there is an admirable variety of portraits and characters, which all relate to the same subject, without however resembling each other in the least. He intersperses reflections, and a kind of digression, from time to time, which add to the value of the piece, and may be of great use in forming the orator.

IV. His treatise *upon the most perfect kind of Oratory* is very short. Cicero maintains in it, that the Attick stile is far the most perfect, but that it includes the three different kinds of eloquence, and that the orator makes use of them as his subject requires. To convince those of this who are of a different opinion, he translated the celebrated orations of Æschines against Demosthenes, and of Demosthenes against Æschines. The work we now speak of was only a kind of preface to that translation, of which we cannot sufficiently regret the loss.

V. The

V. The topics of Cicero contain the method of finding arguments by the means of certain terms, which characterise them, and are called *common places of Rhetoric*, or of *Logic*. We are indebted, <sup>Topic.</sup> for the invention or perfection of this art, to Aristotle. <sup>Locus.</sup> Cicero composed this treatise at the request of Trebatius the lawyer, one of his friends, to explain that written by the philosopher upon this subject. There is one thing remarkable in this work, which shews the genius, memory, and facility of Cicero in composing; this was his not having that philosopher's book, when he undertook to explain him. He was upon a voyage and at sea, as he tells us himself in this book. He recalled to his remembrance Aristotle's work, explained it, and sent what he had done to his friend. He must have known it perfectly well, and have had it very strongly in his mind, to have worked upon it only from his memory. <sup>Topic.</sup> <sup>n. 5.</sup>

VI. The *Partes Oratoriæ* are a very good rhetoric, disposed in divisions and subdivisions of subjects (from whence it takes its title). Its stile is very simple, but clear, succinct, and elegant, and well adapted to the capacity of beginners; so that, with the addition of examples, it might be used with success, though Cicero did not think proper to annex any to it.

VII. THE BOOKS OF RHETORIC, or *De Inventione Oratoria*, are certainly Cicero's. Only the two first remain: the two others are lost. I have already observed, that he composed them during his youth, <sup>De orat.</sup> <sup>l. 1. n. 5.</sup> and that he afterwards thought them unworthy his reputation.

*The rhetoric to Herennius.*

It is not easy to know who was the author of the four books of rhetoric inscribed to *Herennius*, which  
we

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we find in the front of Cicero's works. In the common editions the title says it was not known; but some of the learned ascribe them to Cornificius. It is a rhetoric in form, of which the style, though simple and familiar, is pure and Ciceronian; which has given some people reason to believe it a work of Cicero's: but this opinion admits of great difficulties.

## SENECA THE RHETORICIAN.

Seneca, of whom we speak in this place, was born at Corduba in Spain, about the 700th year of the city of Rome, fifty-three years before Jesus Christ. His surname was *Marcus*. He came to settle at Rome in the reign of Augustus, whither he brought with him his wife *Helvia*, and three sons. The first called *Mela*, was the father of the poet Lucan; the philosopher's name was *Lucius*; and the third son's *Novatus*: but this last being adopted into another family, he took the name of his father by adoption *Junius Gallio*. Mention is

*Acts xviii.* made of him in the *Acts of the Apostles*.

12.

Seneca the father collected, from more than an hundred authors, as well Greeks as Romans, whatever was most remarkable, that they had either said or thought upon the different subjects they had treated on in emulation of each other, by way of exercising their eloquence according to the custom of those times. Of the ten books of *Controversies* or *Disputations*, contained in this collection, scarce five remain, and those very defective. To the books of controversies, one of deliberations is prefixed, though it is known, that Seneca did not publish it till after the former.

These works of Seneca give Mr. Gibert occasion to explain, with great order and evidence, the esteem and use in which *Declaiming* was of old. I shall

shall insert in this place that little tract almost entirely; which will be of great service for the understanding of what will be said in the sequel, upon the manner in which the rhetoricians formed young persons for eloquence.

*Declamation* is a word which occurs in \* *Horace*, and still more in † *Juvenal*: though it was ‡ not known at Rome before Cicero and Calvus. The compositions were so called, by which eloquence was exercised, and of which the subjects, true or feigned, were sometimes in the deliberative, sometimes in the judiciary, and seldom in the demonstrative kind. The discourses made upon these subjects were an image of what passed in the public councils and at the bar.

Declaiming was the method taken by || Cicero whilst young to become an orator, which at that time he practised in Greek. He continued to use it, when more advanced in years, but in Latin. He exercised himself in the same manner, even when the troubles of the state had obliged him to abandon the bar. At that time he repeated to Cassius and Dolabella, or others, the harangues of this kind, which he had only composed by way of exercise. This was the common method of all who aspired at eloquence, or were willing to acquire perfection in it; that is to say, the principal persons of the state. They applied themselves to it under the direction of Cicero, and improved themselves by his advice. § *Hirtius and Dolabella*, says

\* *Trojani belli scriptorem* —  
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi.

*Hor. Ep. 1. lib. 2.*

† Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.

*Juven. Sat. 10.*

‡ Apud nullum auctorem antiquum, ante ipsam Ciceronem & Calvum, inveniri potest. *Senec. Controv. 1. 1.*

|| Cicero ad Præturam usque græcè declamavit, latinè verò senior quoque. *Sueton. de clar. Rhet.*

§ Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cœnandi magistros. Puto enim te audisse — illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cœnare. *Epist. 16. l. 9.*

Cicero,

Cicero, *come often to declaim at my house, and I as often go to sup with them.* They came to him either to repeat or correct their discourses; after which he went home with them to supper, their tables being better than his own.

Suet. de  
clar. Rhet.

Pompey the Great applied himself also very closely to declamation a little before the civil wars, to inable himself to answer Curio, who had sold his talent to Cæsar's interests, and gave the opposite party great disquiet. Mark Antony did the same to reply to Cicero; and Octavius, even at the siege of Modena, did not omit this exercise. We must remember, that at Rome, whether in the senate or before the people, eloquence generally determined the most important affairs, and thereby became absolutely necessary to those who aspired at being powerful in them.

Epist. 21.  
l. 16. ad.  
Famil.

I omit Cicero's son Marcus, who exercised himself also both in Greek and Latin, but not with the same success.

Demetrius Phalereus is said to have been the inventor of declamation: and Plotius Gallus, of whom we have spoken above, was the first who introduced the use of it in the Latin tongue.

Senec. in  
Præf.  
Controv.

It was, according to this idea of declamation, that all the lovers of eloquence, whether Greeks or Romans, assembled in the houses of persons eminent in the same way, such for instance as Seneca, where they pronounced discourses upon subjects before agreed upon. Our author had the greatest memory conceivable. He cites several examples of a like nature. Cyneas, Pyrrhus's ambassador, having had audience of the senate upon his arrival, the next day saluted all the senators and people who had been present at it in great numbers by their names. A certain person, having heard a poem repeated, to surprise the author of it, pretended it was his work, and to prove it, repeated the



the whole without hesitating, which the author could not do himself. Hortensius, in consequence of a challenge, stayed an whole day at a sale of goods by auction, and at night repeated, in the order they were sold, without the least mistake, the names of the several moveables, and of the persons that bought them. Seneca's memory was scarce less admirable. He says, that in his youth he repeated two thousand words after having only heard them once over, and that too in the same order they had been spoken. It was by this wonderful talent, whatever was most curious, in all the declamations he had ever heard, was so strongly impressed upon his mind, that long after, in a very advanced age, he was capable of recalling it to his remembrance, though consisting of so many detached passages; and reduced them to writing for the use of his sons, and to transmit them to posterity.

I shall have occasion, before I conclude this article, to explain in what manner declamation conduced to occasion the decay and corruption of the taste for true eloquence.

*Dialogue upon the orators, or upon the causes of the corruption of eloquence.*

The author of this work is unknown. Some ascribe it to Tacitus, others to Quintilian, but without much foundation. What we may be assured of is, that it is a proof of his wit and capacity whoever he was, and deserves a place amongst the best works after the Augustan age, from the purity and beauty of which it must however be allowed to be very remote. There are very fine passages in it. What he says by way of panegyric upon the profession of pleaders, seems to me of this kind. It is  
proper

proper to remind the reader, that it is an heathen who speaks.

“ \* The pleasure which arises from eloquence, says he, is not rapid and momentary, but the growth of every day, and almost every hour. And indeed, what can be more grateful to an ingenuous mind, that has a taste for exalted satisfaction, than to see his house continually thronged by crowds of the most considerable persons in a city? To be conscious that it is not to his riches, office, or authority, but to his person that they come to pay this honour? The greatest wealth, the most splendid dignities, have they any thing so delightful and affecting, as the voluntary homage, which persons, equally to be respected for their birth and age, come to render to the merit and knowledge of an advocate, though often young, and sometimes destitute of the goods of fortune, in imploring the

\* Ad voluptatem oratoris eloquentiæ transeo, cujus jucunditas non uno aliove momento, sed omnibus prope diebus, & prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero & ingenuo animo, & ad voluptates honestas nato, quam videre plenam semper. & frequentem domum concursu splendidissimorum hominum? Idque scire non pecuniæ, non orbitati, neque officii alicujus administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari! Illos quinimo orbes, & locupletes, & potentes, venire plerumque ad juvenem & pauperem, ut aut sua, aut amicorum discrimina commendent. Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnæ potentis voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres, & senes, & totius urbis gratia subnixos, in summa rerum omnium abundantia consistentes, id quod optimum sit se non habere? Jam vero qui rogatorum comitatus & egressus! quæ in publico species! quæ in judiciis veneratio! quod gaudium confurgendi assistendique inter facientes, in unum conversos! coire populum, & circumfundi coram, & accipere affectum quemcumque orator induerit. Vulgata dicentium gaudia & imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo. Illa feretiora, & tantum ipsis orantibus nota, majora sunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque affert orationem, est quoddam, sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus & constantia. Sive novam & recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum, & lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciæ, atque ipsius temeritatis, vel præcipua jucunditas est. Nam ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quanquam alia diu ferantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quæ sua sponte nascuntur, Cap. 6.

“ aid

“ aid of his eloquence, either for themselves or  
 “ their friends, and confessing, in the midst of the  
 “ affluence with which they are surrounded, that  
 “ they are still in want of what is most valuable  
 “ and excellent? What shall I say of the officious  
 “ zeal of the citizens to attend him whenever he  
 “ goes abroad, or returns to his house? Of the  
 “ numerous audiences in which all eyes are fixed  
 “ on him alone, whilst a profound silence reigns  
 “ universally, with no other interruption but starts  
 “ of admiration and applauses? In fine, of that  
 “ absolute power which he has over mens minds,  
 “ by inspiring them with such sentiments as he  
 “ pleases? Nothing is more glorious and exalted  
 “ than what I have now said. But there is still  
 “ another pleasure more intense and affecting, known  
 “ only to the orator himself. If he pronounces a  
 “ discourse, that he has had time to study and  
 “ polish at leisure, his joy as well as diction has  
 “ something more solid and more assured in it.  
 “ If he has only some few moments reflection al-  
 “ lowed him to prepare himself for his cause, the  
 “ very anxiety he feels upon that account, makes  
 “ the success more grateful to him, and exalts the  
 “ pleasure it gives him. But what still soothes him  
 “ more agreeably, is the success of an unpreme-  
 “ ditated discourse, ventured extemporaneously.  
 “ For the productions of the mind are like those  
 “ of the earth. The fruits, which cost no trouble,  
 “ and grow spontaneously, are more grateful than  
 “ those we are obliged to purchase with abundance  
 “ of pains and cultivation.”

We cannot, in my opinion, deny that there are  
 in this description a great many ingenious and solid  
 thoughts, strong and emphatical expressions, and  
 lively and eloquent turns. Perhaps there is too  
 much wit and shining conceit in it: but that was  
 the fault of the age.

I shall

## LATIN RHETORICIANS.

I shall add here another very fine passage from the same author, in which he ascribes the principal causes of the corruption of eloquence to the bad education of children :

“ Who \* does not know, that what has occasion-  
 “ ed eloquence and the other arts to degenerate  
 “ from their antient perfection, is not the want of  
 “ genius, but the indolence into which youth are  
 “ fallen, the negligence of parents in the educa-  
 “ tion of their children, the ignorance of the  
 “ masters employed to instruct them, in fine, the  
 “ oblivion and contempt of the taste of the an-  
 “ tients. These evils, which had their rise at  
 “ Rome, have dispersed themselves from the city  
 “ into the country of Italy, and infected all the  
 “ provinces.——

“ Of old, in every house, it was a custom for a  
 “ child, born of an ingenious mother, not to be  
 “ sent to the cottage of a nurse bought amongst  
 “ slaves, but to be nurtured and educated in the  
 “ bosom of her who bore him, whose merit and  
 “ praise it was to take care of her house and chil-  
 “ dren. Some female relation in years, and of

\* Quis ignorat & eloquentiam & ceteras artes destitisse ab ista vetere gloria, non inopia hominum, sed desidia juventutis, & negligentia parentum, & inscientia præcipientium, & oblivione moris antiqui? quæ mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, jam in provincias manant——

Jam primum suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cella emptæ nutricis, sed gremio aut sinu matris educabatur; cujus præcipua laus erat tueri domum, & inservire liberis. Eligebatur autem aliqua major natu propinqua, cujus probatis spectatisque moribus omnis cujuscumque familiæ soboles committebatur: coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum, sanctitate quadam ac vecumdia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Cæsaris, sic Attiam Augusti matrem præfuisse educationibus, ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. Quæ disciplina ac severitas eò pertinebat, ut sincera & integra & nullis pravitatibus decorata uniuscujusque natura, toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas: &, sive ad rem militarem, sive ad juris scientiam, sive ad eloquentiæ studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret. Cap. 28.

“ known

“ known virtue and probity, was chosen to have  
 “ the care of all the children of the family, in  
 “ whose presence nothing contrary to decency and  
 “ good manners was suffered to be spoken or done  
 “ with impunity. She found the means to unite  
 “ not only their studies and application, but even  
 “ their play and recreations, with a certain air of  
 “ modesty and reserve, that tempered their ardour  
 “ and vivacity. It is thus we find that Cornelia  
 “ the mother of the Gracchi, Aurelia of Cæsar,  
 “ and Attia of Augustus, governed their children,  
 “ and made them capable of appearing in the  
 “ world with splendor. The view of this strict  
 “ and manly education was to prepare the minds  
 “ of children, by preserving them in all their na-  
 “ tural purity and integrity, and preventing their  
 “ being infected with any bad principle, to em-  
 “ brace the study of arts and sciences with ardour,  
 “ and, whether they chose the profession of arms,  
 “ or applied themselves to the laws or eloquence,  
 “ that they might addict themselves solely to their  
 “ profession, and the attainment of a perfection  
 “ in that alone.

“ But, \* in these days, no sooner is a child born,  
 “ but he is given to some Greek slave, with a ser-  
 “ vant or two more to attend her, of the meanest  
 “ and most useless sort in the family. At this ten-

\* At nunc natus infans delegatur Græculæ alicui ancillæ, cui  
 adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis plerumque vilissimus,  
 nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus. Horum fabulis &  
 erroribus teneri statim & rudes animi imbuuntur. Nec quisquam in  
 tota domo pensum habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat, aut  
 faciat: quando etiam ipsi parentes nec probitati neque modestiæ parvus  
 los assuefaciant, sed lasciviæ & libertati: per quæ paulatim impu-  
 dentia irrepit, & sui alienique contemptus. Jam vero propria &  
 peculiaris hujus urbis vitia pœne in utero matris concipi mihi viden-  
 tur, histrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque studia. Quibus  
 occupatus & obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relin-  
 qui? quotumquemque inveneris qui domi quidquam aliud loqua-  
 tur quos alios adolescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando  
 auctoritas intravimus? *Cæp. 29.*

“ der age, susceptible of all impreffions, he hears  
 “ nothing but the frivolous, and often loose and  
 “ abandoned, stories of the lowest domestics.  
 “ None of them have the least regard for what  
 “ they say or do before their young master. And  
 “ indeed, what attention of that kind can be ex-  
 “ pected from them, whilst the parents themselves  
 “ accustom their children, not to modesty and good  
 “ manners, but to every kind of freedom and  
 “ licentiousness: from whence ensues by degrees  
 “ an air of declared impudence, void of regard  
 “ either for themselves or others. There are, be-  
 “ sides this, certain vices peculiar to this city,  
 “ which seem almost to have been conceived with  
 “ them in their mother’s womb: such are the taste  
 “ for theatrical shews, gladiators, and chariot-  
 “ races. Are not these almost the only subjects of  
 “ conversation amongst young people, and indeed  
 “ all companies? Is it probable, that a mind in-  
 “ tent upon, and in a manner besieged by, these  
 “ trifling amusements, should be very capable of  
 “ applying to serious studies?”

These two passages suffice to give the reader some  
 idea of this work, and to make him regret that it  
 is not come down entire to us.

This dialogue may be divided into three parts.  
 The first introduces an advocate and a poet con-  
 tending upon the pre-eminence of their respective  
 arts, and enlarging in praise of them, the one of  
 eloquence, and the other of poetry. The second  
 part is a speech of the same advocate, whom the  
 author calls Aper, in favour of the orators of his  
 times against the antients. He lived in the reign  
 of Vespasian, and was at the head of the bar. The  
 third part of the work is an inquiry into the causes  
 of the fall or corruption of eloquence. The  
 speakers are Messala, Secundus, Maternus, and  
 Aper. All that Secundus, and part of what Ma-  
 ternus,

terius, said, is lost, which makes a great chasm in the work, without mentioning several other defective passages.

QUINTILIAN: (*Marcus Fabius Quintilianus.*)

I shall reduce what I have to say upon Quintilian to three heads: First, I shall relate what is known of his history: Secondly, I shall speak of his work, and give the plan of it: And, lastly, I shall explain the method of instructing youth and teaching rhetoric, as practised in his time.

*I. What is known of Quintilian's history.*

It appears that Quintilian was born in the second year of the emperor Claudius, which is the forty-second of Jesus Christ. Mr. Dodwell conjectures this in his annals upon Quintilian, who is my guide in chronology as to what relates to the birth, life, and employments of our rhetorician, which he has disposed in a very clear and probable order.

The place of his birth is disputed. Many say that he was a native of Calagurris, a city of Spain, upon the Heber, now called *Calahorra*. Others believe, with sufficient foundation, that he was born at Rome.

It is not certainly known whether he was the son or grandson of the orator Fabius, mentioned by Seneca the father, and placed by him in the number of those orators, whose reputation dies with them.

Quintilian, without doubt, frequented the schools of the rhetoricians at Rome, in which youth were taught eloquence. He used another more effectual method for the attainment of it, which was to make himself the disciple of the orators of the greatest reputation. Domitius Afer held at that

time the first rank amongst them. Quintilian did not content himself with hearing him plead at the bar; he often visited him; and that venerable old man, though the admiration of the age he lived in, did not disdain to converse with a youth, in whom he observed great and very promising talents. This important service those, who are grown old with glory in this illustrious profession, have in their power to render their juniors, especially when they have quitted the bar for the sake of retirement. Their \* houses may then become a kind of public schools for the youth, who may address themselves to them, to be informed by what means they must succeed. Quintilian knew how to improve Afer's good-will to his own advantage; and it appears, by the questions he proposed to him, that he had in view the forming of his taste and judgment by these conversations. He † asked him one day which of the poets he thought came nearest Homer.

Quintil.

l. 12. c. 11. *Virgil, says Afer, is the second, but much nearer the first than the third.* He had the grief to see this great man, who had so long done honour to the bar, survive his own reputation, from not having known how to apply the wise advice of ‡ Horace, and from having chosen rather to sink under the weight of his function than retire, as he is reproached; *malle eum deficere, quàm desinere.* Domi-

\* Frequentabunt ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum, & veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit, quasi eloquentiæ parens. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 11.

† Utar verbis iisdem quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi: qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero credere maximè accedere; Secundus, inquit, est Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

‡ Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & illa ducat.

*Hor. Ep. 1. l. 1.*

*Prudent dismiss the courser from the race,  
Lest age and broken wind his youth disgrace.*

tius



tius Afer died in the 59th year of the Christian Æra, the same year that Juvenal was born.

Two years after, Nero sent Galba governor in- An. J. C.  
to Hispania Tarraconensis. It is believed that Quintilian followed him thither, and that, after having taught rhetoric, and exercised the profession of an advocate during upwards of seven years, he returned to Rome with him.

It was about the end of this year that Galba was An. J. C.  
declared emperor, and Quintilian opened a school<sup>68.</sup>  
of rhetoric at Rome. He was the first who taught it there by public authority, and with a salary from the state; for which he was indebted to Vespasian. For, according to \* Suetonius, that prince was the<sup>Sueton. in Vesp. c. 18.</sup>  
first that assigned the rhetoricians, both Greeks and Romans, pensions out of the public treasury, to the amount of twelve thousand five hundred livres.<sup>About 600l. sterling.</sup>  
Before this establishment there were masters who taught it without being authorised by the public. Besides the pensions received by these rhetoricians from the state, the fathers † paid a sum for the instruction of their children, which Juvenal thought very small in comparison with those they expended on trivial occasions. For, according to him, nothing cost a father less than his son, though he regretted every thing expended on his education: *Res nulla minoris Constabit patri quam filius.* This sum amounted to two hundred and fifty livres: *Duo sestertia.* Quintilian was public professor of rhetoric twenty years with universal applause.

He exercised, at the same time, and with the same success, the function of an advocate, and acquired also great reputation at the bar. When the disse-

\* Primus è fisco Latinis Græcisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit.

† Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano  
Ut multum duo sufficient. Res nulla minoris  
Constabit patri quam filius.

Juv. Sat. 7. l. 3.

Quint. 1. 4. rent parts of a cause were distributed to different  
 c. 2. pleaders, as was the custom of old, he was generally chosen to state or open the matter of it, which  
 Id. 1. 6. requires great method and perspicuity. He excelled  
 c. 2. also in the art of moving the passions; and he \*  
 confesses, with that modest freedom natural to him, that he was often seen, in pleading, not only to shed tears, but to change countenance, turn pale, and express all the signs of the most lively and sincere affliction. He does not deny but it was to this talent that he owed his reputation at the bar. And indeed it is chiefly by this character, that an orator distinguishes himself, and conciliates all the suffrages in his favour.

We shall soon see how well qualified he was to instruct youth, and in what manner he acquired the love and esteem of every body on that account. Amongst the many illustrious disciples that frequented his school, Pliny the younger did him most honour, by the beauty of his genius, the elegance and solidity of his stile, the admirable sweetness of his disposition, his liberality to men of learning, and his peculiar warmth of gratitude for his master, of which he afterwards gave him a most illustrious proof.

After having devoted entirely twenty years to the instruction of youth in the school, and the defence of clients at the bar, he obtained the emperor Domitian's permission to quit both those equally useful and laborious employments. Instructed by the  
 Quint. 1. 12. c. 11. sad example of his master Domitius Afer, he believed it proper to think of a retreat, before it became absolutely necessary; and that he could not put a more graceful period to his labours, than by

\* Hæc dissimulanda mihi non fuerunt, quibus, ipse, quantuscumque sum aut fui, (nam pervenisse me ad aliquod nomen ingratum credo) frequenter motus sum ut me non lacrymæ solum deprehenderint, sed pallor, & vero similis dolor. *Quintil.*

renouncing

renouncing them, at a time when he should be regretted: *Honestissimum finem putabamus desinere dum desideraremur*; whereas Domitius chose rather to sink under the weight of his profession, than to lay it down. It was upon this occasion that he gives wise advice to his brethren the pleaders, \**The orator, says he, if he would take my opinion, would find a retreat, before he fell into the snares of age, and gain the port, whilst his vessel was found and in good condition.*

Quintilian, however, at that time, was only six or seven and forty years old, a florid and robust time of life. Perhaps his long application had begun to impair his health. However that were, his was not a leisure of indolence and sloth, but of activity and ardour, so that he became in some measure still more useful to the public than he had ever been by all his past labours. For indeed the latter were confined within the narrow bounds of a certain number of persons and years; whereas the works, which were the fruit of his retirement, have instructed all ages: and we may say, that Quintilian's school has continued the school of mankind from his death, and still continues to resound with the admirable precepts he has left us upon eloquence.

He began by composing a treatise upon the causes of the corruption of eloquence, the loss of which can never be sufficiently regretted. It undoubtedly is not the piece still extant under the title of a dialogue upon the orators.

At the time when he began this work, he lost the youngest of his two sons only five years of age: and some months after a sudden death deprived him of his wife, who was only nineteen years old, and even something less.

\* Antequam in has ætatis veniat insidias, receptui canet, & in portum integra nave perveniet. *Quint. l. 12. c. 11.*

An. J. C.  
90.

Some time after, at the solicitation of his friends, he began his great work, the *Institutiones Oratoriae*, consisting of twelve books: of which I shall give an account in the sequel.

An. J. C.  
91.  
Quintil. in  
Proem.  
l. 4.  
Sueton. in  
Domit.  
c. 15.

He had finished the first three books of it, when the emperor Domitian committed the two young princes, his great nephews, whom he designed for his successors, to his care. They were the grandsons of his sister Domitilla, whose daughter, named also Domitilla, had married Flavius Clemens, the emperor's cousin-german, by whom she had those two princes. This was a new motive to him for redoubling his application to complete his work. His own words deserve repeating, the passage being remarkable. “ \* Hitherto”, says he, addressing himself to Victorinus, to whom he dedicates this piece, “ I wrote only for you and me; and “ confining those instructions to our own houses, “ when the public did not think fit to approve “ them, I thought myself too happy that they “ might be useful to your son and mine; but since “ the emperor has vouchsafed to charge me with “ the education of his nephews, should I esteem “ as I ought the approbation of a God, and know

\* Adhuc velut studia inter nos conferebamus; & si parum nostra institutio probaretur à ceteris, contenti fore domestico usu videbamus, ut tui meique filii disciplinam formare satis putaremus. Cum verò mihi Domitianus Augustus sororis suæ nepotum delegaverit curam, non satis honorem judiciorum cœlestium intelligam, nisi ex hoc quoque oneris, magnitudinem metiar. Quis enim mihi aut mores excolendi sit modus, ut eos non immeritò probaverit sanctissimus Censor? aut studia, ne sefellisse in his videar Principem, ut in omnibus, ita in eloquentia quoque eminentissimum? Quod si nemo miratur Poëtas maximos sæpe fecisse, ut non solum initis operum suorum Musas invocarent, sed provecti quoque longius, cum ad aliquem graviores locum venissent, repeterent vota, & velut nova precatione pterentur: mihi quoque professò poterit ignosci, si, quod initio, cum primùm hæc materiam inchoavi, non fecerim, nunc omnes in auxilium deos, ipsumque imprimis, quo neque præsentius aliud, neque studiis magis propitium numen est, invocem; ut, quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii aspires, dexterque ac volens adsit, & me, qualem esse credidit, faciat.

“ the

" the value of the honour he has conferred upon  
 " me, it I did not measure the greatness of my  
 " undertaking by that idea. And indeed, in what-  
 " ever manner I consider it, whether in regard to  
 " manners, or on the side of knowledge and art,  
 " what ought I, not to do, to deserve the esteem  
 " of so sacred a censor; a prince, in whose person  
 " supreme eloquence is united with supreme power?  
 " If then we are not surprised to see the most  
 " excellent poets, not only invoke the muses at  
 " the beginning of their works, but again implore  
 " their assistance, whenever in the course of it  
 " some new important object arises to be treated  
 " on; with how much greater reason ought I to be  
 " pardoned, if what I did not at first I now do,  
 " and call all the gods to my aid, particularly  
 " him, under whose auspices I write from hence-  
 " forth, and who, more than all the rest, presides  
 " over study and science? May he then be propi-  
 " tious to me; and proportioning his graces to the  
 " high idea he hath given of me, in a choice so  
 " glorious and so difficult to sustain, may he in-  
 " spire my mind with the force and elevation it  
 " wants, and render me such as he hath believed  
 " me. *Et me, qualem esse credidit, faciat.*"

It must be confessed, that there is in this com-  
 pliment abundance of wit, loftiness, and grandeur,  
 especially in the thought with which it concludes:  
*And render me such as he hath believed me.* But is it  
 possible to carry flattery and impiety to a greater  
 height, than to treat a prince as a God, who was  
 a monster of vice and cruelty. Nor am I even sure  
 whether the last thought be so just as it is shining:  
*And render me such as he has believed me.* He was not  
 such then in reality: and how came this pretended  
 god to believe he was? Again, if, instead of ex-  
 tolling the regularity and purity of his manners, he  
 had contented himself with enlarging upon his elo-  
 quence,

quence, and the other talents of the mind upon which he valued himself, the flattery had been less odious. He praises him in another place in the same manner, where he prefers him above all other poets; at which time it is very likely, that the consular ornaments were conferred upon Quintilian.

Lib. 10.  
6. 1.

The care of the young prince's education, with which Quintilian was charged, did not hinder him from working upon his book, the *Institutiones Oratoris*. His regard for his only surviving son, whose happy genius and disposition merited his whole tenderness and attention, was a powerful motive with him for hastening that work, which he considered as the most valuable part of the inheritance he should leave him; in order, says he himself, that, if any unforeseen accident should deprive that dear child of his father, he might, even after his death, serve him as a guide and preceptor.

Quintil. in  
Proem.  
1. 6.

An. J. C. 92. Continually filled therefore with the thought and apprehension of his mortality, he laboured night and day upon his work; and had already finished the fifth book of it, when an early death robbed him of that darling child, in whom his whole joy and consolation was centered. This was to him, after the loss he had already sustained of his youngest son, a new stroke of thunder, that entirely overwhelmed him with anguish and affliction. His grief, or rather despair, vented itself in complaints and reproaches against the gods themselves, whom he loudly accused of injustice and cruelty; declaring, that it was plain, after so cruel and unjust a treatment, which neither himself nor his children had deserved, that there was no providence to superintend affairs below.

Discourses of this kind shew, in a clear light, what even the most perfect probity of the Pagans was: for I do not know whether all antiquity can instance

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instance one man of a more humane, reasonable, wise, and virtuous character than Quintilian, according to the rules of Paganism. His books abound with excellent maxims upon the education of children, upon the care which parents ought to take to preserve them from the dangers and corruption of the world, upon the attention masters ought to have that the precious deposit of innocence remain unblemished in them, upon the generous disinterestedness incumbent upon persons in power, and, lastly, upon the zeal and love for justice and the public good.

His grief had been very just, if attended with moderation: for never did a child deserve more to be regretted than this. Besides the graces of nature and exterior attributes, a charming tone of voice, an amiable physiognomy, with a surprising facility in pronouncing the Greek and Roman languages, as if he had been born to excel equally in them both, he had the most happy disposition that could be desired for the sciences, united with a taste and inclination for study that astonished his teachers. But the qualities of his heart were still more extraordinary than those of his head. Quintilian, who had known abundance of youth, declares with an oath, that he had never seen so much probity of inclination, goodness of soul, sweetness of temper, and elegance of mind, as in this dear child. In an illness of eight months continuance, he shewed an evenness and constancy of mind, that his physicians could never sufficiently admire, opposing fears and pains with surprising fortitude, and, upon the point of expiring, consoling his father, and endeavouring to prevent his tears. What a misfortune was it that so many fine qualities were lost! But what a shame and reproach were it for Christian children to be less virtuous!

After

An. J. C.  
23.  
Epist. ad  
Tryph.  
bibliop.

After having abandoned his studies for some time, Quintilian, having recovered himself a little, resumed his work; for which, he says, the public ought to have the more favourable opinion of him, as from thenceforth he laboured no longer for himself, his writings, as well as fortune, being to pass away to strangers. He at length finished his plan in twelve books. It cost him little more than two years: of which besides he had employed a great part, not in actually composing, but in preparing, and collecting all the matter of which it was to consist, by the perusal of abundance of authors, who had treated on the same subject. And we have seen how many afflictions and melancholy affairs he had upon his hands, during that time. It is astonishing, and almost incredible, how so perfect a work could be composed in so short a space. His \* design was to follow the advice of Horace, who, in his art of poetry, recommends to authors the not being in too much haste to publish their writings. Accordingly he kept his by him, in order to revise them at his leisure with cooler thought, to give time to the first emotions of self-love and the complacency people always have for their own productions to cool; and to examine them no longer with the fond prepossession of an author, but with the temper and impartiality of a reader. He could not long resist the eager desire of the public to have his works, and was in a manner reduced to abandon them to it, contenting himself with wishing them success, and recommending to his bookseller to take great care that they were exact and correct. It must have been at least a year before they could be in a condition to appear. We are obliged to

\* *Ufus deinde Horatii consilio, qui in arte poetica suadet, ne precipitetur editio, nonumque prematur in annum; dabam iis otium, ut, refrigerato inventionis amore, diligentius repetitos tanquam lector perpenderem.*



the Abbé Gedoy for having inabled the public to judge of the merit of this author, by the translation he has published of his works.

Mr. Dodwell believes, it was about this time An. J. C. that Quintilian, being no longer employed in com- 94 posing his great work, which he had lately finished, thought of a second\* marriage, and accordingly espoused the grand-daughter of Tutilius, as Pliny the younger calls him. He had a daughter by her about the end of this year.

Domitian, notwithstanding his pretended divinity, An. J. C. was killed in his palace by Stephanus, who had put 96 himself at the head of the conspirators. That emperor had caused Flavius Clemens, then consul, to be put to death, and had banished his niece Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Clemens. He had also banished St. Flavia Domitilla, the daughter of one of the same consul's sisters. All these persons suffered for the faith in Jesus Christ. The death of Clemens hastened that of Domitian, either through the horror and fear it gave every body, or because it animated Stephanus against him, who was the freedman and steward of Domitilla, the wife of Clemens; of whose estate he was obliged to give an account, and was accused of malversation in that respect. Nerva succeeded Domitian, and reigned only six- An. J. C. teen months and some days. Trajan, whom he 98 had adopted, was his successor, and reigned twenty years.

Nothing is known of Quintilian from the death of Domitian, except the marriage of his daughter, admitting he had one. When she was of age to marry, he gave her to Nonius Celer. Pliny signified himself, on this occasion, by a generosity and gratitude, which, in my opinion, do him more honour than his writings, excellent as they are. He had studied eloquence under Quintilian. The

\* This second marriage is not certain, but seems very probable.

works he has left us sufficiently prove, that he was a disciple worthy of so great a master : but the following fact no less denotes the goodness of his heart, and the remembrance he constantly retained of the services he had received from him. As soon as he knew that Quintilian intended to marry his daughter, he thought it incumbent on him to express his gratitude to his master by a small present. The difficulty was to make him accept it. He wrote him a letter upon that head, that can never be sufficiently admired for its art and delicacy, of which I shall insert a translation in this place.

*Pliny's letter to Quintilian.*

“ \* Though the moderation of your mind is  
 “ very great, and you have educated your daughter  
 “ as becomes Quintilian's daughter, and the grand-  
 “ daughter of Tutilius : however, as she is about  
 “ to marry Nonius Celer, a person of distinction,  
 “ whose employments in the state impose a kind  
 “ of necessity upon him of appearing with splen-  
 “ dor, it is proper, that she should adapt her  
 “ dress and equipage to the rank of her husband.  
 “ These exterior things indeed add nothing to our  
 “ dignity, they however express and adorn it. I  
 “ know how very rich you are in the goods of the  
 “ mind, and that you are much less so in those of  
 “ fortune than you ought to be. Let me claim

\* Quamvis & ipse sit continentissimus, & filiam tuam ita institueris, ut decebat filiam tuam, Tutilii neptem : cum tamen sit nuptura honestissimæ viro Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officiorum necessitatem quandam nitoris imponit ; debet, secundum conditiones mariti, veste, comitatu augeri : quibus non quidem augetur dignitas, ornatur tamen & instruitur. Te porro animo beatissimum, modicum saculatis scio. Itaque partem oneris tui mihi vendico, & tanquam parens alter puellæ nostræ, confero quinquaginta milia nummum : plus collaturus, nisi à verecundia tua sola mediocritate munusculi impetrari posse considerem, ne recusares. Vale.  
*Ep.* 32. l. 6.

“ therefore

“ therefore a part in your obligations, and, as another father, give our dear daughter fifty thousand sesteritia, (12,500 livres) to which I should add, if I was not assured, that the mediocrity of the present is the sole means to prevail upon your modesty to accept it.” *Adieu.*

This letter of Pliny's has one circumstance in it very much for Quintilian's honour: that after having publicly employed twenty years with surprising reputation and success, as well in instructing youth as pleading at the bar; after having long resided in the court with young princes, the education of whom ought to have given him, and undoubtedly did give him, great credit with the emperor; he had made no great fortune, and had always remained in a laudable mediocrity. A fine example, but unhappily very seldom imitated!

Juvenal however intimates that Quintilian was very rich, and that he had a considerable number of forests, from whence, no doubt, arose a very great revenue:

*Unde igitur tot  
Quintilianus habet saltus?*

These riches must necessarily have been of later date than the time when Pliny made Quintilian the present we have mentioned. It is believed, that, if real, they were the effect of the liberality of Adrian, when he attained the empire, for he declared himself the protector of the learned. Quintilian was then seventy-six years old. It is not known whether he lived long after, and history tells us nothing of his death.

II. *The plan and character of Quintilian's rhetoric.*

The rhetoric of Quintilian, intitled *Institutiones Oratoriae*, is the most complete antiquity has left us. His design in it is to form the perfect orator. He begins with him in his cradle and from his birth, and goes on with him through all the stages of life to the grave. This rhetoric consists of twelve books. In the first he treats of the manner in which children should be educated from their earliest infancy; from whence he proceeds to grammar. The second lays down rules to be observed in the schools of rhetoric, and solves several questions in regard to the art itself, as whether it be a science, whether useful, &c. The five following books contain the rules of invention and disposition. The eighth, ninth, and tenth books include all that relates to elocution. The eleventh, after a fine chapter upon the manner of speaking with propriety as an orator, *de aptè dicendo*, treats of memory and pronunciation. In the twelfth, which is perhaps the finest of them all, Quintilian lays down the personal qualities and obligations of an advocate, as such, and with regard to his clients; when he ought to quit his profession; and how employ his retirement.

One of the peculiar characters of Quintilian's rhetoric is, its being written with all the art, elegance, and energy of style it is possible to imagine. He \* knew, that precepts, when treated in a naked, simple, and subtile manner, are only proper to dry up the sources of the mind, and, if I may use the expression, to make a discourse lean and languid, by

\* Plerumque nudæ illæ artes, nimia subtilitatis affectatione, frangunt atque concidunt quicquid est in oratione generosius, & omnem succum ingenii bibunt, & ossa detegunt: quæ, ut esse & asstringi nervis suis debent, sic corpore operienda sunt. *Quintil. in Proem.*  
l. 2.

depriving

depriving it of all grace and beauty, and leaving it nothing but nerves and bones, more like a skeleton than a healthy and natural body. \* He therefore endeavoured to introduce into his Institutions all the ornament and elegance of which such a work was susceptible; not, as he says himself, with the view of displaying his wit, (for he could have chosen a far more fruitful subject for that purpose) but that youth, from the attraction of pleasure, might apply themselves with more ardour to the reading and studying of his precepts, which without grace and ornament, could not fail, in offending the delicacy of their ears, to disgust also their minds. Accordingly we find in his writings a richness of thoughts, expressions, images, and especially comparisons, which a lively imagination, adorned with a profound knowledge of nature, continually supplies, without ever exhausting itself, or falling into disagreeable repetitions: comparisons, which throw such a fulness of light and beauty into precepts, often obscure and disgusting in themselves, as give them a quite different spirit and effect.

The † principal end of Quintilian, in his rhetoric, was to oppose the bad taste of eloquence that prevailed in his time, and revive a manner of thinking and judging more sound and severe, and more conformable to the rules of the elegance of nature. Seneca had contributed more than any other author to vitiate and corrupt the judgment

\* In ceteris admiscere tentavimus aliquid nitoris, non jactandi ingenii gratia (namque in id eligi materia poterat uberior) sed ut hoc ipso alliceremus magis juventutem ad cognitionem eorum quæ necessaria studiis arbitrabamur, si, ducti jucunditate aliqua lectionis, libentius discerent ea, quorum ne jejuna atque arida traditio averteret animos, & aures (præsertim tam delicatas) raderet, verebamur. *Quintil.* l. 3. c. 1.

† Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum & omnibus vitiis fractum icendi genus revocare ad severiora judicia contendo. *Quintil.* 10. c. 1.

of the Roman youth, and to substitute, in the place of that manly and solid eloquence which had prevailed till his time, the prettinesses, if I may be allowed to call them so, of a stile surfeited with ornaments, glittering thoughts, quaint conceits, antitheses, and points. He perceived aright, that his \* works would never please those who admired the antients: for which reason he never ceased to speak ill of, and discredit, them, even the authors who were most esteemed, as Cicero and Virgil. In consequence of this conduct ensued an almost universal contempt for them; so that, when Quintilian began to teach, he found no author but Seneca in the hands of youth. He did not endeavour absolutely to exclude him, but could not suffer his being preferred to writers of incomparably greater merit.

Quintil.  
ibid.

For the rest we ought not to be surprised that this bad taste made so rapid a progress in so short a time: which is indeed no more than what usually happens. There wants but a single person of a certain character to vitiate all the rest, and to corrupt the language of a whole nation. Such was Seneca. I omit speaking in this place of the other qualities, for which he was admired: an happy and universal genius; a vast extent of knowledge; a profound erudition in philosophy; and a morality abounding with the justest and most solid principles. To keep within the bounds of my subject, he had an easy and exuberant wit, a fine and rich imagination, a shining facility in his compositions, solid thoughts, expressions curious and full of energy, with happy and sprightly turns and conceits.

\* Tum autem totus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, sed potioribus præferri non sinebam, quos ille non desiderat incescere, cum diversi sibi consociis generis, placere se in dicendo posse iis, quibus illi placerent, diffideret. *Ibid.*

But,

But, as to his \* stile, it was almost vicious in all its parts, and so much the more dangerous, as it was all over luxuriant with charming faults and beautiful defects.

This florid stile, this taste for point and quaintness, the more dangerous as the more easy and affecting, and therefore the more conformable to the character of youth, soon seized the whole city. It became † necessary that every proof and every period should conclude with some glittering thought, or singular and surprising turn, to strike the ear, attract particular attention, and in some measure claim applause.

Quintilian believed himself obliged to attack this bad taste with the utmost vigour; which he does almost throughout his whole work, by laying down upon the model of the antients, the principles of true and solid eloquence. It is not, as he often declares, and as his stile sufficiently shews, because he was an enemy to the beauties and graces of discourse. ‡ He confesses, that Cicero himself, to defend his clients, employed not only strong but shining arms; and that in the cause of Cornelius Balbus, in which he was often interrupted by the applauses, and universal clapping of hands of his auditors, sublimity, pomp, and glitter of eloquence occa-

\* Sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles cum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno iudicio.

† Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis sensus in fine sermonis feriat aures. Turpe autem ac prope nefas ducunt respirare ubi loco qui acclamationem non petierit. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 5.

‡ Nec fortibus modo sed etiam fulgentibus armis præliatus in causa est Cicero Cornelii: qui non affectus esset docendo iudicem tantum, & utiliter demum ac latine perspicueque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem suam, non acclamatione tantum, sed etiam plausu confiteretur. Sublimitas profecto, & magnificentia, & nitor, & auctoritas expressit illum fragorem—Sed ne causæ quidem parum confert hic orationis ornatus. Nam qui libenter audiunt, & magis attendunt, & facilius credunt, plerumque ipsa delectatione capiuntur, nonnunquam ipsa admiratione auferuntur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

sioned those loud acclamations. He adds to this motive a very true and judicious reflection, which seems to regard only the orator's reputation : that is, that the beauty of speech conduces very much to the success of a cause, because those who hear with pleasure are more attentive, and become more inclined to believe what they hear, won over as they are by the charms of discourse, and sometimes in a manner borne away by the general admiration.

Quintilian therefore does not reject ornaments : but he insists that \* eloquence, which is an enemy to paint, and all borrowed graces, admits no dress, but what is manly, noble, and majestic. He consents, that it should shine and be lovely, but from health, if I may be allowed the expression, and that it should owe its beauty solely to its natural vigour and florid complexion. He carries this principle so far as to say, † that, were he to chuse, he should prefer the rough, gross force of the antients to the studied and effeminate affectation of the moderns. But, says he, there is in this point a certain mean that may be observed, in like manner as there is a neatness and elegance at present in our tables and furniture, which is so far from being reproveable, that we ought, to the utmost of our power, to make it become a virtue in the general acceptation.

We find, by the little I have related of Quintilian, how greatly useful the study of such a work may be to form the judgment of youth. It is no less so in respect to the manners. He has scattered admirable maxims of that nature throughout his

\* Sed hic ornatus, (repetam enim) virilis, fortis, & sanctus sit: nec effeminatam levitatem, nec fucō eminentem colorem amet: sanguine & viribus niteat. *Quintil. ibid.*

† Et, si necesse sit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam istam novam licentiam. Sed patet media quædam via: sicut in cultu victuque accessit aliquis citra reprehensionem nitor, quem, sicut possumus, adjiciamus virutibus. *Ibid. c. 5.*



rhétoric. I have quoted part of them in my treatise upon study.

But this fund of probity, so worthy in itself of our highest praises, is much dishonoured by our rhetorician's impious flatteries in regard to Domitian, and by his despair on the death of his children, that rose so high as to deny providence. This example, and many others of the like nature, instruct us how to think of these Pagan virtues which were solely founded in self-love, and of a religion that afforded no resource against the losses and evils to which human life is continually exposed.

### III. *Method of instructing youth in Quintilian's time.*

Before I conclude this article upon Quintilian, I shall extract from his writings part of what relates to the manner of teaching, as used at Rome, in his time.

It appears to have been a very usual custom, at <sup>Quintil.</sup> Rome, not to begin the instruction of children till <sup>l. i. c. 1.</sup> they were seven years old, because it was believed, that before that age they had neither sufficient strength of body nor extent of mind for learning.

Quintilian thinks otherwise, and prefers the opinion of Chrysippus, who had composed a treatise of considerable extent, and in great esteem, upon the education of children. Though that philosopher allowed three years to the nurseries, he was from that age for having them industriously imbued with good principles of morality, and formed insensibly for virtue. Now, says Quintilian, if from that early state their manners may be cultivated, what hinders but their minds may also be improved? What is a child to do from the time he begins to speak? For undoubtedly he must do something. Is it proper to abandon him entirely to the discourses of women and men servants? At that age

we know he is incapable either of pains or application. Therefore this must not be so much a study as a play, whereby these first years of infancy, till the seventh, which are generally lost, may be usefully applied in teaching him a thousand agreeable things within the reach of his capacity.

Quintil.

l. i. c. 1.

They began with the study of the Greek language: but that of the Latin soon followed; from which time they cultivated both languages with equal application. This is not practised with sufficient regularity amongst the French, *or indeed the English*, who seldom or never know their native tongue by principles.

When children had learnt to read well, and to write correctly, they were taught both the Latin and Greek grammars.

Ibid.

They had for this end, private masters who instructed them at home, and others who taught in the public schools. Quintilian examines which of these two methods of teaching is the most useful; and, after having attentively considered the reasons on both sides, he declares for the public schools. The chapter wherein he treats this question, is one of the finest parts of this work.

L. i. c. 4.

Grammar was not considered in those times as a frivolous employment of little importance. The Romans set an higher value upon it, and applied themselves to it in a particular manner; convinced, that to propose making a progress in the sciences, without the assistance of grammar, is like intending to erect a building without a foundation. They did not dwell upon minute things and subtleties, which serve only to cramp the genius, and make the mind dry and frigid; they studied its principles, and examined its reasons with care; for there is nothing hurtful in grammar, but what is useless,

Grammar,

Grammar, that is to say, the art of writing and <sup>Quintil.</sup> speaking correctly, turns upon four principles, <sup>l. i. c. 4.</sup> reason, antiquity, authority, and use. Quintilian says an admirable thing upon this last head. This word *use*, according to him, requires an explanation, and it is necessary to define precisely what we understand by it. For, if we take it, for what we see done by the generality of people, the consequences would be dangerous, not only in regard to language, but, what is more important, in respect to manners. For, says he, can it be expected amongst men to see the generality follow or use what is best, and according to rule? He repeats several customs very common in his time, which ought not to be considered as uses, but as abuses, though generally practised by the whole city. We shall call use therefore, as it relates to language, that which is received by the consent of such as speak best; as, in regard to manners, that is use which has the approbation of the good and worthy.

The care of teaching children to read and write <sup>L. i. c. 5.</sup> correctly, and of learning them the principles of the Greek and Latin tongues, was the first but not the chief duty of grammarians. They added to this the reading and explication of the poets, which was of exceeding great extent, and required profound erudition. They did not content themselves with making children observe the propriety and

\* Sed huic ipsi necessarium est iudicium, constituendumque imprimis id ipsum quid sit, quod consuetudinem vocemus. Quæ, si ex eo quod plures faciunt nomen accipiat, periculosissimum dabit præceptum, non orationi modo, sed (quod majus est) vitæ. Unde enim tantum boni, ut pluribus quæ recta sunt placeant? Igitur ut velli, & comam in gradus frangere, & in balneis perpotare, quamlibet hæc invaserint civitatem, non erit consuetudo, quia nihil horum caret reprehensione—sic, in loquendo, non, si quid vitiosè multis infederit, pro regula sermonis accipiendum erit—Ergo consuetudinem sermonis vocabo consensum eruditorum; sicut vivendi, consensum bonorum. *Lib. i. cap. 4.*

natural signification of words; the different feet in the construction of verses; the turns and expressions peculiar to poetry, with the tropes and figures. They applied themselves principally in shewing \* what it was necessary to remark in the oeconomy or conduct of a piece, and the consistency of its parts and characters; what was fine in the thoughts and diction; and wherefore the stile was sometimes flowing and luxuriant, and sometimes succinct and concise. They made children also perfectly acquainted with whatever had any relation, in the poets, either to fable or history, without however charging their memories with any thing useless. At least, these are the rules prescribed by Quintilian. He reckons it a † perfection, in a grammarian to be ignorant of certain things, which indeed do not deserve to be known.

Lib. 1. c. 6. The grammarians began also to form youth for composition, by making them write descriptions, Lib. 2. c. 1. fables, and more extensive narrations. They sometimes made excursions, of which Quintilian complains, into the province of the rhetoric, and made their disciples compose discourses, not only in the demonstrative kind, which seemed abandoned to them, but even in the deliberative.

L. 1. c. 7. &c. At the same time that youth learned grammar, they were also taught music, geometry, the manner of dancing that improves the person and mien, and the art of pronounciation, or of speaking in public; all which were considered as essential to the future orator, and always preceded the study of rhetoric.

The age for entering upon this study was not and could not be fixed, because it depended on the

\* Præcipuè vero illa infigat animis, quæ in oeconomia virtus, quæ in decoro rerum; quid personæ cuique convenerit; quid in sensibus laudandum; quid in verbis; ubi copia probabilis, ubi modus.

† Ex quo mihi inter virtutes Grammatici habebitur aliqua ne-  
scire.

progress made in the previous studies. What we certainly know of it is, that young persons devoted several years to it: *Adulti ferè pueri ad hos L. 2. c. 2. præceptores transferuntur, & apud eos juvenes etiam facti perseverant.* We may conjecture, that they generally began rhetoric at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and continued at it till seventeen or eighteen. The length of time employed in this study ought not to surprise us, because, at Rome as well as Athens, eloquence opening the door to the highest dignities of the republic, this art was the principal employment of the youth of both cities. We must not forget, that at Rome they studied rhetoric under both Greek and Latin masters.

The function of a rhetorician included two parts, precepts and declamations.

Quintilian, in several passages of his work, proves the utility and necessity of precepts: but he is far from believing, that a scrupulous observance of them is indispensably necessary in composing. Rhetoric would certainly be very easy and attainable, if it could be made to consist in a small number of fixed and certain rules; but its rules change according to time, occasion, and necessity. For which reason \* the principal requisite in an orator is judgment, because he is to determine differently his own conduct, according to the exigency of affairs.

The rhetorician dictated the precepts to his disciples, which must have taken up abundance of time: for the rhetorics were generally very long, as we may conclude from that of Quintilian. It often treated subjects of a very abstracted, and very improper nature, in my opinion, to inspire a taste for eloquence. These are that kind of passages, which, in regard to youth, I have taken the liberty to retrench in my edition of this rhetorician. He

\* Atque adeo res in oratore præcipua consilium, quia variè & ad primum momenta convertitur. *Lib. 2. c. 14.*

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found this custom established, and could not with prudence depart from it. But he makes his readers good amends, not only by the graces and beauties of style diffused through all the passages susceptible of them, but still more by the solid reflections, with which he unites most of his precepts. And, when he explained them to his disciples, what force and clearness must his pronunciation have added to them!

**Lib. 2. c. 4.** To teach youth how to practise the precepts he had explained to them, the master formed them for composition. At first they made historical narrations. They then rose to praising of great men, and blaming such as had rendered themselves odious by their criminal actions; and sometimes made parallels and comparisons between them. They exercised themselves also in common places, upon avarice, ingratitude, and the other vices in general: and in certain themes which supplied abundant matter for eloquence; for instance, whether the country life is preferable to that of the town? whether most glory be acquired in the field or at the bar?

**Lib. 2. c. 8.** Care was also taken to exercise the memory. Quintilian for this end is for having youth learn by heart select passages out of the orators, historians, and other celebrated authors: the poets were left wholly to the grammarians. \* They will form their taste early by this means, says he; their memory will constantly supply them with excellent models, which they will imitate even without thinking of it: expressions, tours of thoughts and figures will rise up with no constraint under their pens, and present themselves as treasures carefully reserved against occasion.

\* Sic affuescent optimis, semperque habebunt intra se quod imitentur: etiam non sentientes, formam illam, quam mente penitus acceperint, expriment. Abundabunt autem copia verborum optimorum, & compositione ac figuris jam non quaesitis, sed sponte & ex reperto velut thesauro se offerentibus.

By

By these different exercises, they were insensibly led on to the composition of discourses in form, called declamations, in which the principal business of rhetoric consisted. These were harangues composed upon feigned and imaginary subjects, in imitation of those at the bar, and in the public deliberations. Demetrius Phalereus was the first who introduced the use of them amongst the Greeks.

Declamations were instituted to prepare youth for the real affairs of the bar, of which they were properly to be a faithful resemblance: and as long as they kept within these just bounds, and, perfectly imitated the form and stile of actual pleadings, they were of great use. Accordingly this sort of compositions comprised all the parts and beauties of a coherent discourse.

But this exercise, so useful in itself, degenerated so much through the ignorance and bad taste of masters, that declamations were one of the principal causes of the ruin of eloquence. They made choice of fabulous subjects, entirely extraordinary and unnatural, which had no manner of relation to the matters treated on at the bar. I shall cite a single example of this kind, from which the rest may be known. There was a law which decreed, that the hands of him who struck or used violence to his father should be cut off: *Qui patrem pulsaverit, manus ei præcidentur*. A tyrant having caused a father and his two sons to be brought to him in the citadel, ordered the sons to beat the father. One of them, to avoid so horrid an impiety, threw himself headlong from the works of the citadel: the other, compelled by necessity, obeyed the command, and struck his father; he afterwards killed the tyrant, who had made him his friend, and received the reward granted him by the laws in such a case. He was however tried by the judges for having used violence to his father, and the prosecutor demanded that his hands should be cut off.

Senec.  
Declam. 4.  
l. 9.

The

The father takes upon him his defence. Matters of a much more extravagant nature were treated on in declamations. The \* stile was suitable to the choice of the subjects, and consisted of nothing but stiff, far-fetched expressions, glittering conceits, points, antitheses, quibbles and jingle, excessive figures, frothy bombast, in a word, of all manner of puerile ornaments, crowded together without judgment or choice.

Quintilian opposed this bad taste with the utmost zeal, and applied himself to reforming declamations, by reducing them to their original design, and making them conformable to the practice of the bar. Believing it improper, however, to oppose the torrent of custom in a direct manner, he abated of his ardour in some respects, and gave way to the stream in a certain degree. It will not be disagreeable to see in what manner he justifies this condescension himself.

“ † What then, some may say, are youth never  
 “ to be suffered to treat on extraordinary sub-  
 “ jects? To give a loose to their genius, to aban-  
 “ don themselves to the sallies of a warm imagina-  
 “ tion, and swell a little in their stile and eloquence?

\* Hæc tolerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam iturus viam facerent: nunc & rerum tumore, & sententiarum vanissimo strepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut, cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos. Et ideo ego adolescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident—sed mellitos verborum globulos, & omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere & sesamo sparsa. *Petron. in init.*

† Quid ergo? Nunquam hæc supra fidem, & poeticam (ut verè dicam) themata juvenibus pertractare permittemus, ut expatiantur, & gaudeant materia, & quasi in corpus eant? Erat optimum. Sed certè sint grandia & tumida, non stulta etiam, & acrioribus oculis inveniuntur ridicula. Ac, si jam cedendum est, impleat se declamator aliquando, dum sciat, ut quadrupedes, cum viridi pabulo distentæ sunt, sanguinis detractione curantur, & sic ad cibos viribus conservandis idoneos redeunt: ita sibi quoque tenuandos adipēs, & quicquid humoris corrupti contraxerit emittendum, si esse sanus ac robustus o'et. Alioqui, tumor ille inanis primo cujusque veri operi conatu apprehenditur. *Lib. 2. c. 11.*

“ Tha



“ That is undoubtedly right, says Quintilian. But  
 “ then let them keep at least to what is justly bold  
 “ and swelling, and not give into what is ridicu-  
 “ lous and extravagant to all who have any sense  
 “ or discernment. In fine, if we must have this  
 “ indulgence for declaimers, let them swell as much  
 “ as they please, provided they remember, that as  
 “ certain animals are turned loose into the fields to  
 “ fatten upon the luxuriant herbage for a certain  
 “ time, and afterwards are let blood, and return  
 “ to their usual meat for the preservation of their  
 “ vigour; so they ought to distrust their fulness,  
 “ and retrench its vicious superfluities, if they  
 “ would have their productions really sound and  
 “ vigorous. Otherwise, on their first attempts in  
 “ public, they will find that imaginary fulness  
 “ and abundance no more than empty swell and  
 “ tumour.”

With such wise precautions, declamations might  
 be of great use to young persons. \* Perfect dis-  
 courses are not to be required or expected from  
 them at first. A fruitful and abundant genius may  
 be known from a boldness and spirit in attempting,  
 though not always within the bounds of the just  
 and the true. It is good to have always some-  
 thing to retrench at these years. When a young  
 person had worked in private upon a subject given  
 him to treat on, he brought his composition to the  
 school, and read it before his companions. The  
 master sometimes, to render them more attentive,  
 and to form their judgment, asked them what they  
 thought worthy of either praise or blame in the piece  
 read to them. He afterwards determined the man-  
 ner in which they were to judge of it, as well in

\* In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi, nec sperari potest: melior  
 autem est indoles læta, generosique conatus, & vel plura iusto con-  
 cipiens interim spiritus. Nec unquam me in his discens annis  
 ostendat, si quid superfluit. L. 2. c. 4.

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regard to the thoughts, as the expression and tour: he pointed out the passages that were either to be made more clear, or to be enlarged or abridged, always softening his criticism with an air of kindness, and sometimes even with praise, in order to its being the better received. "For my part, says \* Quintilian, when I observed young persons either too wanton and luxuriant in their style, or more bold than solid in their thoughts; I told them, for the present I would suffer it, but the time would come when I should not permit the taking of such liberties. And thus they were pleased with their wit, without being deceived on the side of their judgment."

When the youth, upon the advice of his master, had carefully retouched his piece, he prepared to pronounce it in public; and this was one of the greatest advantages derived from the study of rhetoric, and at the same time one of the most laborious exercises for the master, as the satyrisk observes:

Declamare doces, oh ferræ pectora, Vetti!

Juv. Sat. 7.

*With iron lungs who teaches to declaim.*

The relations and friends of the speakers assembled on these occasions, and it was the height of joy to fathers to see their sons succeed in these declamations, which prepared them for pleading, and enabled them to distinguish themselves in time at the bar.

Amongst the different exercises of rhetoric, there is reason to be surprised, that nothing is said of the

\* Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid ausis licentius aut latius, laudare illud me adhuc; venturum tempus, quo idem non permitterem. Ita, & ingenio gaudebant, & judicio non falliebantur. *Ibid.*

reading

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reading and explaining good authors, which alone is capable of forming entirely the taste of youth, and of teaching them to compose well. Quintilian L. 1. c. 3. confesses, that this was not practised at the time he began to teach rhetoric. He was sensible of all its advantages from the first, and exercised some young persons in it, whom he instructed in private, in consequence of their parents request: but, having found the contrary custom established in the schools, he was afraid to depart from the antient method; so much force and dominion has custom over the mind of man! Convinced of the vast importance of this practice with regard to youth, he recommends it industriously in his oratorical institutions: and, as the grammarian's business was to explain the poets to them, he is for having the rhetorician do the same in respect to the orators and historians, but especially the former, in reading them with the pupils, and making them sensible of all their beauties; and he prefers this exercise far before \* all the precepts of rhetoric, how excellent soever they may be; examples being infinitely more improving in his opinion. For, says he, what the rhetorician contents himself with teaching, the orator sets before the eyes. The one points out the road youth are to take, the other in a manner leads them by the hand all the way: *Quæ doctior præcipit, orator L. 10. c. 1. ostendit.*

I have perhaps enlarged a little too much upon what relates to this excellent master of rhetoric, from whom I have cited many passages, for which I ought to make some excuse to the reader. I desire him therefore to pardon my too manifest prejudice and passion for Quintilian, who is my favourite author, and whose writings have been the

\* Hoc diligentius genus ausim dicere plus collatarum discitentibus, quam omnes omnium artes.—Nam in omnibus fieri minus valent præcepta, quam exempla. *Lib. 2. cap. 5.*

subjects

subjects of my lessons in the royal college more than forty years. I confess, that I am charmed and transported whenever I read his books, which always seem new to me; and I set the higher value upon them, as I know no author more capable of preserving youth against the false taste of eloquence, which seems in our days to aspire at superiority and dominion.

Confess.  
l. 2. c. 2.

Several Saints have taught rhetoric, and have done abundance of honour to this profession by their profound knowledge, and still more by their solid piety: St. Cyprian, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustin, &c. The last mentions a celebrated rhetorician, named Victorinus, to whom a statue was erected at Rome, where the learned instruction he had given the children of the most illustrious senators had acquired him great reputation. The affecting history of his conversion (for he had courageously renounced Paganism for the Christian religion) contributed very much to that of St. Augustin.

CHAPTER IV.  
OF SOPHISTS.

**I**N the subject I am now to treat on, I have made great use of Mr. Hardion's work upon *the origin and progress of rhetoric amongst the Greeks*, of which only a small part has been published.

It is hard to give a just idea and exact definition of sophists, because their condition and reputation have undergone various changes. It was at first a very honourable title. It afterwards became odious and contemptible from the vices of the sophists, and the abuse they made of their talents. At length the same title, in a manner restored to its privileges by the merit of those who bore it, continued in honour for a considerable succession of ages, which did not however prevent many of them, even in those times, from making an ill use of it.

The name of Sophist amongst the antients was of very great extent, and was given to all those whose minds were adorned with useful and polite learning, and who imparted their knowledge to others, either by speech or in writing, upon any science or subject whatsoever. Hence we may judge how honourable this character was at first, and what respect it must have drawn upon those who, distinguishing themselves by a superior merit, made it their business to form mankind for virtue, science, and the government of states. The greatest proof which can be given, says Isocrates, of the singular estimation the sophists were in, is, that Solon, who was the first Athenian called sophist, was judged

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worthy

worthy by our ancestors of being placed at the head of the republic. Herodotus reckons him amongst the sophists, whom the opulence of Croesus, and his love for the polite arts, had brought to his court.

When, by the defeat of Croesus, Asia minor was subjected to the arms of the Persians, most of the sophists returned into Greece, and the city of Athens became, under the government of Pisistratus and his children, the darling asylum and residence of the learned.

To understand aright the advantage they were of to Greece, we have only to remember the important services they rendered Pericles, I mean in regard to policy and government.

Plato in  
Phædr.  
p. 269.

All arts, whose objects are great and considerable, require a genius for discussion, and a profound knowledge of nature. The mind is thereby accustomed to conceive lofty and sublime thoughts, and enabled to attain its perfection. Pericles united with the most happy natural talents this habit of meditating and discussing. Having fallen into the hands of ANAXAGORAS, who followed this method in every thing, he learned from him to trace things to their principles, and applied himself particularly to the study of nature. History tells us the use he made of it on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, which had thrown his whole fleet into a consternation. Anaxagoras, who abounded in this kind of knowledge, made it the principal subject of his conversations with Pericles, who knew how to select from them what was proper, to apply it to rhetoric.

Plut. in  
Pericl.  
p. 153,  
154.  
Plut. in  
Lach.  
p. 180.

DAMON, who succeeded Anaxagoras with Pericles, called himself only a musician, but concealed profound learning under that name and profession. Pericles passed whole days with him, either to improve the knowledge he already had, or to acquire more.

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**more.** Damon was the most amiable man in the world, and never wanted abundant resources upon whatever subject he was consulted. He had studied nature profoundly, and the effects of the different kinds of music. He composed excellently himself, and all his works tended to inspire horror of vice and love of virtue.

Whatever care this sophist had taken to conceal his real profession, his enemies, or rather those of Pericles, perceived at length that his lyre was only assumed to disguise him from their sight. From thenceforth they used all means to discredit him with the people. They painted him as an ambitious turbulent person, who favoured tyranny. The comic poets seconded them to the utmost of their power, by the ridicule they vented against him. He was at length cited to answer for himself before the judges, and banished by the ostracism. His merit and attachment to Pericles were his only crimes.

That illustrious Athenian had also another teacher Plut. in Pericl. p. 163 & 169. Athen. l. 13. p. 680. Hesych. in voce *Ἐσπασία.* Suid. *ibid.* both in eloquence and policy, whose name and profession must give surprise: this was the famous **ASPASIA** of Miletus. That woman, so much celebrated for her beauty, knowledge, and eloquence, was at the same time of two very different professions, a courtesan and a sophist. Her house was an assembly of the gravest personages of Athens. She gave her lessons of eloquence and policy with so much politeness and modesty, that the husbands were not afraid to carry their wives thither, where they might be present without shame or danger.

In her conduct and studies she followed the example of another famous courtesan of Miletus, named **THARGELIA**, whose Talents had acquired her the title of sophist, and whose exceeding beauty had raised her to the height of grandeur. When Xerxes meditated the conquest of Greece, he en-

gaged her to employ the charms of her person and wit, to bring over several of the Grecian cities to his side, in which she succeeded effectually. She at length settled in Thessaly, where the sovereign married her, and she lived thirty years upon the throne.

Plut. in  
Menex.  
p. 236—  
249.

Aspasia with abundance of wit and beauty united a profound knowledge of rhetoric and policy. Socrates (a man of what wisdom and reputation!) boasted, that it was to her instructions he was indebted for all his eloquence, and ascribed to her the merit of having formed all the great orators of his time. He intimates also in Plato, that Aspasia had the greatest share in composing the funeral oration, pronounced by Pericles in praise of the Athenians who fell in battle for their country, which appeared so admirable, that, when he had done speaking, the mothers and wives of those he had praised ran to embrace and crown him with wreaths and fillets, as a champion victorious in the games.

Plut. in  
Pericl.  
p. 169.

Pericles was in no good understanding with his wife, who consented without any difficulty to be divorced from him. After he had married her to another, he took Aspasia in her stead, and lived with her in the most perfect union. She was a long time the mark of the poets satyric wit, who in their comedies drew her sometimes under the name of Omphale, sometimes of Dejanira, and sometimes under that of Juno. It is not certain whether it was before or after her marriage that she was accused before the judges for the crime of impiety. It is only said, that Pericles saved her with great difficulty, and that he exerted all his credit and eloquence in her defence.

It is a pity that Aspasia, dishonoured, by the irregularity of her manners, and her profession of a courtesan, the many fine qualities, for which she was

was



was otherwise so estimable, and which, without that blot, would have made her an infinite honour to her sex. But they prove, however, of what the sex is capable, and how high they can carry the talents of the mind, and even the science of government.

Besides Anaxagoras, Damon, and Aspasia, who had principally instructed Pericles in eloquence and policy, he had also several other sophists of great reputation in his house. This conduct shews the value, which the great men of antiquity set upon, and the use they made of, the sciences, which they were very far from considering as a simple amusement, fit only at most to gratify the curiosity of a speculative mind with rare and abstracted knowledge, but incapable of forming persons for the government of states.

The extraordinary honours, paid by all Greece to the sophists, proves how highly they were esteemed and considered. When they arrived at a city, they were met by the people in a body, and their entrance into it had something of the air of a triumph. S. Chrys. in Epist. ad Ephes. They had their freedom conferred upon them, were granted all sorts of immunities, and had statues erected to their honour. Rome erected one to the sophist Proæresus, who went thither by the order of the emperor Constantine. Sunapius. Nothing can be imagined more glorious nor more soothing than the inscription of this statue: REGINA RERUM ROMA REGI ELOQUENTIÆ; that is, *Rome, the queen of the world, to the king of eloquence.*

The experience which most of the cities had made of the advantage of the sophists to those in the administration of public affairs, and especially in the instruction of youth, occasioned their being treated with all these singular marks of esteem and distinction. Besides which, it cannot be denied, that many of them had abundance of wit, had acquired a great extent of knowledge by application,

and distinguished themselves in a particular manner by their eloquence. The most celebrated were Gorgias, Tisias, Protagoras, and Prodicus, who all appeared in the time of Socrates.

Diod. l.  
12. p.  
206.

GEORGAS is surnamed *the Leontine*, because he was a native of Leontium, a city of Sicily. His citizens, who were at war with those of Syracuse, deputed him as the most excellent orator amongst them, to implore aid of the Athenians, whom he charmed by his eloquence, and obtained from them all he demanded. As it was new to them, they were dazzled with the pomp of his words, thoughts, tour of genius, and figures; and with those \* artfully laboured, and in a manner wire-drawn periods, the members of which, by a studied disparity and resemblance, answer each other with a nice exactness, and form a regular and harmonious cadence, that agreeably soothes the ear. This kind of *Pretinsses*, for they cannot well be called by any other name, are pardonable when not too frequent, and are even graceful when used with the sober temper Cicero employs them. But Gorgias abandoned himself to them without any reserve. Every thing glittered in his style, in which art seemed to pride itself in appearing every-where without a veil. He went to display it upon a much larger theatre, that is to say, in the Olympic games, and afterwards in the Pythian; where he was equally admired by all Greece. They † loaded him universally with honours, which they carried so far, as to erect him a statue of gold at Delphos, an honour never before conferred on any man.

\* Paria paribus mixta, & similiter desinita; itemque contraria relata contraria quæ sua sponte, etiamsi id non agat, cadunt plerumque numero, Gorgias primus invenit, sed his est usus intemperatus. *Orat. l. 175.*

† Gorgias tantus honos habitus est à tota Græcia, soli ut ex ætibus, Delphis, non inaurata statua sed aurea statueretur. 3. *Orat. l. 177.*

Gorgias was the first that ventured to boast in a numerous assembly, that he was ready to dispute upon any subject that should be proposed: which became very common afterwards. Crassus had reason to treat so senseless a vanity, or rather, as he calls it himself, so ridiculous an impudence, with derision.

He lived to an hundred and seven years old, without ever quitting his studies; and, upon being asked how he could support so long a life, he replied, that age had never given him any reason to complain.

Isocrates, of all his disciples, was the most illustrious, and did him the greatest honour.

TISIAS was a native of the same city as Gorgias, and, according to some, was joined with him in the deputation to the Athenians. He also acquired great estimation. Lysias, a famous orator of whom I shall speak in the sequel, was one of his disciples.

PROTAGORAS, of Abdera in Thrace, was contemporary with Gorgias, and perhaps even a little prior to him. He was also of the same taste, and had, like him, a very great reputation for eloquence. He taught it during forty years, and gained by his profession more considerable sums than Phidias, or ten as excellent statuaries as him, could ever have been able to have acquired. So Socrates says in Plato.

Aulus Gellius relates a very singular law-suit between this Protagoras and one of his disciples. The latter, whose name was Evalthus, passionately desirous of making himself a celebrated advocate, applies to Protagoras. The price was agreed on; for this kind of masters always began with that; and the rhetorician engaged to instruct Evalthus in the most secret mysteries of eloquence. The disciple, on his side, pays down directly half the sum agreed on, and, according to articles, refers the

payment of the other half, till after the carrying of the first cause he should plead. Protagoras, without loss of time, displays all his precepts, and, after a great number of lessons, pretends that he had made his scholar capable of shining at the bar, and presses him to make an essay of his ability. Evalthus, whether out of timidity or some other reason, always defers it, and obstinately declines exercising his new talent. The rhetorician, weary of his continued refusal, has recourse to the judges. Then, sure of the victory, whatever sentence they might pass, he insults the young man. For, says he, if the decree be in my favour, it will oblige you to pay me: if against me, you carry your first cause, and are my debtor according to our agreement. He believed the argument unanswerable, Evalthus was in no concern, and replied immediately, I accept the alternative. If judgment goes for me, you lose your cause: if for you, I am discharged by our articles; I lose my first cause, and from thenceforth the obligation ceases. The judges were posed by this captious alternative, and left the case undecided: in all probability, Protagoras repented his having instructed his disciple so well.

*Suidas.*

PRODICUS of the isle of Cea, one of the Cyclades, the contemporary with Democritus and Gorgias, and disciple of Protagoras, was one of the most celebrated sophists of Greece. He flourished in the 86th olympiad, and amongst others had Euripides, Socrates, Theramenes, and Alcibiades, for his disciples.

He did not disdain to teach in private at Athens, though he was there in the character of ambassador from his country, which had already conferred several other public employments upon him: and though the great approbation, which his harangue had obtained him from the Athenians upon the day of his public audience, seemed to oppose his descending

scending to use his talent upon less occasions. Plato insinuates, that the desire of gain induced Prodicus to keep a school. He accordingly got considerably by that business. He went from city to city to display his eloquence; and, though he did it in a mercenary manner, he, however, received great honour at Thebes, and still greater at Lacedæmon.

His declamation of *fifty drachma's* is very much spoken of, which was so called, as some of the learned tell us, from each auditor's being obliged to pay him that sum, amounting to about five and twenty livres French. This was paying very dear *About* for hearing an harangue. Others understand it of *twenty-* a lecture, and not an harangue. Socrates, in one *two* of Plato's dialogues, complains, with his air of ridicule, of not being able to discourse well upon the *billings.* nature of nouns, because he had not heard the *In Cratyl.* lesson of fifty drachma's, which, according to Prodicus, revealed the whole mystery. And indeed this *P. 324.* sophist had discourses of all prices from two oboli *Id. in Ax.* to fifty drachma's. Could any thing be more fordid? *ioch. p. 366.*

The fable of Prodicus, wherein he supposes that virtue and pleasure, in the form of women, present themselves to Hercules, and endeavour, in emulation of each other, to allure him, has been justly extolled by many authors. Xenophon has *ex- L. 2. Me-* explained it with great extent and beauty; yet he *morab. p.* says, that it was much longer and more adorned *737—740.* in the piece of Prodicus upon Hercules. Lucian *Cic. offic.* has imitated it ingeniously. *L. 1. n. 112.*

The Athenians put our sophist to death, as a Suid. corrupter of youth. It is probable that he was accused of teaching his disciples irreligion.

These sophists did not support their reputation long. I have shewn, in the life of Socrates, in what manner that great man, who believed it in-

\* Τὴν πενήντα δραχμῶν τιμὴν.

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combated on him, as a good citizen, to undeceive the public in regard to them, succeeded in making them known for what they were, by taking off the mask from their faults. He interrogated them in public conversations, with an air of simplicity and almost ignorance, which concealed infinite art, as one who desired to be instructed and improved by their doctrine; and, leading them on from proposition to proposition, of which they foresaw neither the conclusion nor consequences, he made them fall into absurdities, which shewed in the most sensible and distinct manner the falsity of all their reasoning.

Two things contributed principally to their losing almost universally the opinion of the public. They set themselves up for perfect orators, who alone possessed the talent of speaking, and had carried eloquence to the utmost heights of which it was capable. They valued themselves upon speaking extemporaneously, and without the least preparation, upon any subject that could be proposed to them. They boasted their being capable of giving their auditors whatever impressions they pleased; \* of teaching how to make the worst of causes good, and of making † small things seem great, and great small, by dint of eloquence. This Plato tells us of Gorgias and Tisias. They were equally ready to maintain either side of any subject whatsoever, They held the True for nothing in their discourses, and made the tour of their eloquence subservient, not to demonstrate Truth, and make it lovely, but as a mere wit-skirmish, and to give the False the colours of the True, and the True those of the False.

The great theatre in which they endeavoured to shine, was the Olympic games. There, as I have

\* Docere se profitebántur, arrogantibus sanè verbis, quemadmodum causa inferior (ita enim loquebantur) dicendo sètri superior posset. *In Brut.* n. 30.

† Τα μικρὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα μικρὰ φαίμεθαί ποιεῖν ἡ ἐν ῥήματι λόγῳ. *In Phædro,* p. 267.

already

already said, in the presence of an infinite number of auditors assembled from all parts of Greece, they affectedly displayed whatever is most pompous in eloquence. With little or no regard for the solidity of things, they employed whatever is most glittering and most capable of dazzling the mind, proposing no other ends to themselves than to please the multitude, and obtain their suffrages. And this did not fail to ensue, their discourses being attended with universal applause. I need not observe how far such an affectation might carry them, and how capable it was of ruining the taste for good and solid eloquence.

This Socrates incessantly represented to the Athenians, as we find in several of Plato's dialogues, wherein he introduces him speaking upon this subject. For we must not imagine, when he attacks and condemns rhetoric, as he often does, that he means the true and sound rhetoric. He valued it as it deserves, but could not suffer the infamous abuse which the sophists made of it, nor applaud, with the ignorant multitude, discourses that had neither solidity, nor any real beauty in them. For, instead of dressing eloquence like a majestic queen, in the noble and splendid ornaments that become her dignity, but have nothing affected or unnatural in them, the sophists set her off in a foreign, soft, effeminate garb, like an harlot, who derives all her graces from paint, has only borrowed beauties, and at most knows only how to charm the ears with the sound of a sweet harmonious voice. This is the idea which Quintilian and St. Jerom, conformably to Socrates, give us of the eloquence of the sophists, and I imagine the reader will not be offended if I repeat their own terms in this place :

*Quapropter eloquentiam, licet hanc (ut sentio enim dis-* Quintil. r  
*cam) libidinosam resupina voluptate auditoria probent, l. 5. c. 13.*  
*nullam esse existimabo, quæ ne minimum quidem in se in-*  
*dicium*

8. Hieron.  
Præf. in  
l. 3. Com-  
ment. ad  
Galat.

*dicam masculini & incorrupti, ne dicam gravis & sancti viri, ostendet—Quasi ad Albenæum & ad auditoria convenitur, ut plausus circumstantium suscitantur, ut oratio Rhetoricæ artis fucata mendacio, quasi quedam meretricula procedat in publicum, non iam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quesitura, & in modum psalterii & tibiæ dulce canentis sensus d. mulceat audientium.* Persons of good sense, from the remonstrances of Socrates, soon perceived the falsity of this eloquence, and abated very much of the esteem they had conceived for the sophists.

A second reason entirely lost them the people's opinion: this was the defects and vices remarkable in their conduct. They were proud; haughty, and arrogant, full of contempt for others, and of esteem for themselves. They conceived themselves the only persons that understood, and were capable of teaching youth, the principles of rhetoric and philosophy in a proper manner. They promised parents, with an air of assurance, or rather impudence, entirely to reform the corrupt manners of their children, and to give them, in a short space of time, all the knowledge that was necessary for filling the most important offices of the state.

Lucian.

They did not do all this for nothing, neither did they pique themselves upon generosity. Their prevailing vice was avarice, and an insatiable desire of amassing riches. What was smartly said of Apollonius the Stoic \* philosopher, whom the emperor Antoninus caused to come from the East, to be præceptor to Marcus Aurelius, whom he had adopted, may be applied to them. He brought

\* It was this Apollonius, who, when he arrived at Rome, refused to go to the palace, saying, it was the pupil's business to come to the master. Antoninus only laughed at this foolish pride and fantastic oddity of the Stoic's humour, who had been well satisfied to come from the East to Rome, and, when at Rome, would not go from his house to the palace, and sent Marcus Aurelius, to hear him, at home. That prince continued to go thither to receive his lessons, even after he rose to the imperial dignity.

several



several other philosophers with him to Rome, *all Argonauts*, said a Cynic of those times, *and well inclined to go in quest of the golden fleece*. The sophists sold their instructions at a very great price, and, as they had found means to bait the parents with magnificent promises, and the world was infatuated with their knowledge and merit, they extorted boldly from them, and made the most of the warm desire they expressed for the good education of their children. Protagoras \* took of his disciples, for teaching them rhetoric, an hundred minæ, or ten thousand drachma's, that is to say, five thousand livres. Gorgias, according to Diodorus Siculus and Suidas, had the same sum. Demosthenes paid as much for his instruction to the rhetorician Isæus.

*About 240l. sterling.*  
Diod. l. 12.  
Plut. in Lico.  
p. 106.

The perfect disinterestedness of Socrates, who had neither inheritance nor income, exposed still more, by the contrast, the sordid avidity of the sophists, and was a continual censure of their conduct, much stronger than the sharpest reproaches he could have made them.

Notwithstanding these faults, which were personal to many of them, for some were not guilty of them, it must be confessed that the sophists rendered the public great services in the advancement of learning and the sciences, which were in a manner deposited with them for many ages.

Many cities of Greece and Asia, to which people went from different countries, to imbibe, as at their source, all the sciences, have produced at all times sophists of great reputation. To abridge and conclude this article, I shall speak only of one of these sophists, the celebrated Libanius.

Libanius was of a good family of Antioch. He studied at Athens, where he remained about four

*Lib. in vit. sua.*  
An. J. C.

\* A Protagora decem millibus denariorum didicisse artem quam edidit Evalthus dicitur. *Quint. l. 3. c. 1.*

years. He was appointed by the proconsul to teach rhetoric there at the age of five and twenty; but this nomination did not take place. He was a very zealous defender of Paganism, which afterwards recommended him to the particular consideration of Julian the Apostate. He acquired great esteem by his wit and eloquence.

S. Greg.  
Naz. orat.  
20. p. 325.  
An. J. C.  
351.

He distinguished himself principally at Constantinople and Antioch. He was professor in the first of these cities for some years at different times, where he contracted a particular friendship with St. Basil. That saint, before he went to Athens, came to Constantinople; and as that city abounded then with excellent philosophers and sophists, the vivacity and vast extent of his genius soon made him acquainted with whatever was best in their learning. Libanius, whose scholar he seems to have made himself, had an high regard for him, young as he was, upon account of the gravity of his manners, worthy the wisdom of old age; which, says he, I admired the more, as he lived in a city where the allurements of pleasure were endless. When he was informed that this saint, notwithstanding his great reputation, had retired from the world, all Pagan as he was, he could not but admire so generous an action, which equalled all that was greatest ever done by his philosophers. In all St. Basil's letters to him, we see the singular esteem he had for his works, and his affection for his person. He directed all the youth of Cappadocia, who desired to improve themselves in eloquence, to him, as the most excellent master of rhetoric then in being, and they were received by him with particular distinction. Libanius says a thing very much for his honour, in relation to one of these young men, whose circumstances were very narrow: that is, that he did not consider his pupils riches but their goodwill; that if he found a young man poor, who pro-  
fessed

Epist. Liban.

felt a great desire to learn, he preferred him, without hesitating, to the richest of his disciples; and \* that he was very well pleased, when those who had nothing to give were earnest to receive his instructions. He adds, that it had not been his good fortune to meet with such masters: And indeed disinterestedness was not the virtue of the sophists. Those whose profession is to teach know that the soil most fruitful in merit is poverty.

He writes to Themistius, a celebrated sophist, whom his talents and wisdom had raised to the highest employments in the state, in a manner that shews Libanius had noble sentiments, and the love of mankind at heart. "I do not congratulate you," says he, upon the government of the city's being conferred on you; but I congratulate the city upon having made choice of you for so important a trust. You want no new dignities, but the city is in great want of such a governor as you."

It were to be wished, that Libanius had been as irreproachable in regard to his manners, as he was estimable for his wit and eloquence. He is also reproached with having been too full of esteem for himself, and too great an admirer of his own works. This ought not to astonish us much. We might almost say, that vanity was the virtue of Paganism.

Libanius passed the last thirty-five years of his life at Antioch, from the year 354 to about 390, and professed rhetoric there with great success. Christianity supplied him also with another illustrious disciple in the person of St. Chrysostom. His mother, who spared nothing for his education, sent him to Libanius's school, the most excellent and the most famous sophist, who then taught at Antioch, in order to his forming himself under so

\* Ἀπὸ τῆ μὴ δυναμένη δῆται, τὸ βελτιῶναι λαβεῖν.

great a master. His works, from whence he had been denominated *Golden Mouth*, shew the progress he made there. At first he frequented the bar, pleaded some causes, and declaimed in public. He sent one of these discourses in praise of the emperors to Libanius, who, in thanking him for it, tells him, that himself and several other persons of learning, to whom he had shewed it, admired it. An author assures us, that, some of his friends asking this sophist when he was near death, whom he should approve of to succeed him as professor, he replied, that he should have chosen our saint, if the Christians had not engrossed him: but his pupil had very different views.

Mid. Pelus.  
Ls. Ep. 42.

Socrom.  
l. 8. c. 2.

Eunap.  
c. 14.

If we may judge of the master by his scholars, and of his merit by their reputation, the two disciples of Libanius, whom I have now cited, might alone do him great honour. And indeed he passed for a great orator, in the opinion of all the world. Eunapius says, that all his terms are curious and elegant, that whatever he writes has a peculiar sweetness and insinuating grace, with a sprightliness and gaiety, that serve him instead of the salt of the antients.

Libanius has left us a multitude of writings, which consist of panegyrics, declamations, and letters: Of all his works, his letters have ever been the most esteemed.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
ARTS and SCIENCES  
OF THE  
ANTIQUITIES, &c.  

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OF  
POLITE LEARNING,  
OR THE  
BELLES LETTRES.  

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INTRODUCTION.

POETRY, History, and Eloquence, include whatever is principally meant by Polite Learning, or the *Belles Lettres*. Of all the parts of literature, this has the most charms, displays the most lustre, and is in some sense the most capable of doing a nation honour by works, which, if I may be allowed the expression, are the flower, the brightest growth, of the most refined and most exquisite wit. I would not hereby be thought to undervalue the other sciences in the least, of which I shall speak in the sequel, and which cannot be too highly esteemed. I only observe, that those we are to treat of, in this place, have something more animated, more shining, and consequently more apt to strike mankind, and to excite their admiration; that they are accessible.

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## INTRODUCTION.

sible to a greater number of persons, and enter more universally than the rest into the use and commerce of men of wit. Poetry seasons the solidity of her instructions with attractive graces, and the pleasing images, in which she industriously conveys them. History, in recounting the events of past ages in a lively and agreeable manner, excites and gratifies our curiosity, and at the same time gives useful lessons to kings, princes, and persons of all conditions, under borrowed names, to avoid offending their delicacy. And lastly eloquence, now shewing herself to us with a simple and modest grace, and then with all the pomp and majesty of a potent queen, charms the soul, whilst she engages the heart, with a sweetness and force, against which there is no resistance.

Athens and Rome, those two great theatres of human glory, have produced the greatest men of the ancient world as well for valour and military knowledge, as ability in the arts of government. But would those great men have been known, and their names not been buried with them in oblivion, without the aid of the arts in question, that have given them a kind of immortality, of which mankind are so jealous? Those two cities themselves, which are still universally considered as the primitive sources of good taste in general, and which, in the midst of the ruins of so many empires, preserved a taste for polite learning, that never will expire; are they not indebted for that glory to the excellent works of poetry, history, and eloquence, with which they have enriched the universe?

Rome seemed in some sort to confine herself to this taste for the Belles Lettres; at least she excelled in an eminent degree only in this kind of knowledge, which she considered as more useful and more glorious than all others. Greece was richer as to the number of sciences, and embraced them all with distinction. Her illustrious persons, her princes, and kings, extended their protection to science in

## I N T R O D U C T I O N.

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tal, of whatsoever kind and denomination. Not to mention the many others who have rendered their names famous on this account, to what was Ptolemy Philadelphus indebted for the reputation that distinguished him so much amongst the kings of Egypt, but to his particular care in drawing learned men of all kinds to his court, in loading them with honours and rewards, and by their means in causing all arts and sciences to flourish in his dominions? The famous library of Alexandria, enriched by his truly royal magnificence with so considerable a number of books, and the celebrated Museum, where all the learned assembled, have made his name more illustrious, and acquired him a more solid and lasting glory, than the greatest conquests could have done.

France does not give place to Egypt in this point, to say no more. The king's famous library, infinitely augmented by the magnificence of Lewis XIV. is not the least illustrious circumstance of his reign. His successor Lewis XV. who signalised the beginning of his own by the glorious establishment of free instruction in the university of Paris, to tread in the steps of his illustrious great-grandfather, has also piqued himself upon making the augmentation and decoration of the royal library his peculiar care. In a few years he has enriched it with from fifteen to eighteen thousand printed volumes, and almost eight thousand manuscripts, part of the library of Mr. Colbert, the most scarce and ancient come down to us; without mentioning those brought very lately from Constantinople by the Abbé Sevin: so that the king's library at present amounts to about ninety thousand printed volumes, and from thirty to thirty-five thousand manuscripts. It only remained to deposit so precious a treasure in a manner that might evidence all its value, and answer the reputation and glory of the kingdom. This Lewis XV. has also done, to fulfil the intentions of his great-grandfather, by causing a superb edifice to be prepared

## INTRODUCTION.

for his library, which is already the admiration of all strangers, and, when finished, will be the most magnificent receptacle for books in Europe.

The Museum of Alexandria was much admired: but what was it in comparison with our academies of architecture, sculpture, painting; the \* *Académie Française*, that of Polite Learning or the *Belles Lettres*, and that of Sciences? Add to these the two most ancient foundations of the kingdom; the College royal, where all the learned languages, and almost all the sciences are taught; and the University of Paris, the mother and model of all the academies in the world, whose reputation so many ages have not impaired, and who, with her venerable wrinkles, continually retains the air and bloom of youth. If the number of the learned, who fill all these places, are added to the account, and their pensions estimated, it must be owned, that the rest of Europe has nothing comparable to France in these respects. For the honour of the present reign and ministry, I cannot forbear observing, that during the war lately terminated so happily and gloriously for us, the payment of all those pensions of the learned was neither suspended nor delayed.

The reader will, I hope, pardon this small digression, which, however, is not entirely foreign to my subject, for the sake of the warm love of my country, and the just sense of gratitude that occasioned it. Before I proceed to my subject, I think myself obliged to take notice, that I shall make great use of many of the dissertations in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*, especially in what relates to poetry. Those extracts will shew how capable that academy is of preserving the good taste of the antients.

\* *Académie Française*, established in 1635, for the purity of French tongue.





## CHAPTER I.

*Of the Poets.*

**I**T is evident, if we consider poetry in the purity of its first institution, that it was invented originally to render the public homage of adoration and gratitude to the Divine Majesty, and to teach men the most important truths of religion. This art, which seems so profane in our days, had its birth in the midst of festivals, instituted in honour of the Supreme Being. On those solemn days, when the Hebrews celebrated the remembrance of the wonders God had wrought in their favour, and when, at rest from their labours, they gave themselves up to an innocent and necessary joy, all places resounded with canticles and sacred songs, whose noble, sublime, and majestic stile suited the greatness of the God they praised. In those divine canticles what throngs do we not see of the most lively and animated beauties! Rivers rolling back to their sources; seas opening and flying with dread; hills that skip, and mountains that melt like wax and disappear; heaven and earth trembling and listening with awe and silence; and all nature in motion, and shaken before the face of its Author.

But, as the human voice alone failed in the utterance of such amazing wonders, and seemed too weak to the people to express the lively sense of gratitude and adoration with which they were animated, to express them with greater force, they called in to their aid the loud voices of thundering drums, trumpets, and all other instruments of music. In a kind of transport and religious enthusiasm this did not suffice; and the body was also made to have a part in the holy joy of the soul by impetuous but concerted emotions, in order that every thing in man might

render homage to the Divinity? Such was the beginning of music; dancing, and poetry.

What man of good taste, who, though not full of respect for the Sacred books, should read the songs of Moses with the same eyes he reads the odes of Pindar, but would be obliged to own that this Moses, whom we know as the first historian and legislator of the world, is at the same time the first and most sublime of poets? In his writings, poetry, even at the first instant of its birth, appears perfect, because God himself inspires it, and the necessity of arriving by degrees at perfection is a condition annexed only to arts of human invention. The prophets and the psalms present us also with the like models. In them shines out that true poetry in all her majesty of light, which excites none but happy passions, which moves the heart without depraving it, which pleases without soothing our frailties, which engages our attention without amusing us with trivial and ridiculous tales, which instructs us without disgust, which makes us know God without representing him under images unworthy of the Divine nature, and which always surprises without leading us astray thro' fantastick regions and chimerical wonders. Always agreeable, always useful; noble by bold expressions, glowing figures, and still more by the truths she denounces, it is she alone that deserves the name of Divine language.

When men had transferred to creatures the homage due only to the Creator, poetry followed the fortune of religion, always preserving however traces of her first origin. She was employed at first to thank the false divinities for their supposed favours, and to demand new ones. She was soon indeed applied to other uses: but in all times care was taken to bring her back to her original destination. Hesiod has written the genealogy of the gods in verse: a very ancient poet composed the hymns usually ascribed to Homer; of which kind of poem Callimachus afterwards wrote others. Even the works, that turn

up

upon different subjects, conducted and decided the events they related by the intervention and ministration of divinities. They taught mankind to consider the gods as the authors of whatever happens in nature. Homer, and the other poets, every where represent them as the sole arbiters of our destinies. It is by them our courage is either exalted or depressed; they give or deprive us of prodence; dispense success and victory; and occasion repulse and defeat. Nothing great or heroic is executed without the secret or visible assistance of some divinity. And, of all the truths they inculcate, they present none more frequently to our view, and establish none with more care, than that valour and wisdom are of no avail without the aid of Providence.

One of the principal views of poetry, and which was a kind of natural consequence of the first, was also to form the manners. To be convinced of this, we have only to consider the particular end of the several species of poetry, and to observe the general practice of the most illustrious poets. The Epic poem proposed from the first to give us instructions disguised under the allegory of an important and heroic action. The Ode, to celebrate the exploits of great men, in order to excite the general imitation of others. Tragedy, to inspire us with horror for guilt, by the fatal effects that succeed it, and with veneration for virtue, by the just praises and rewards which attend it. Comedy and satire, to correct whilst they divert us, and to make implacable war with vice and folly. Elegy, to shed tears upon the tombs of persons who deserve to be lamented. And, lastly the Pastoral poem, to sing the innocence and pleasures of rural life. If any of these kinds of poetry have in succeeding times been employed to different purposes, it is certain, that they were made to deviate from their natural institution, and that in the beginning they all tended to the same end, which was to render man better.

## O F P O E T R Y.

I shall pursue this subject no farther, which would carry me beyond my bounds. I confine myself in speaking of the poets to those who have distinguished themselves most in each kind of poetry, and shall begin with the Greeks. I shall then proceed to the Romans, partly uniting them however sometimes, especially when it may seem necessary to compare them with each other.

As I have occasionally treated on part of what relates to these illustrious writers elsewhere, to avoid useless and tedious repetitions, the reader will permit me to refer him thither, when the same matter recurs.

## A R T I C L E I.

*Of the Greek poets.*

**E**VERY body knows, that poetry was brought into Italy from Greece, and that Rome is indebted to her for all the reputation and glory she acquired of this kind.

## S E C T. I.

*Of the Greek poets who excelled in epic poetry.*

**I** Do not rank either the Sibyls, or Orpheus, and Musæus, in the number of the poets. All the learned agree, that the poems ascribed to them are supposititious.

## H O M E R.

Herod.

l. 2. c. 53.

A. M.

3120.

Ant. J. C.

884.

The period of time when Homer was born is not very certain. Herodotus places it 400 years before himself, and Usher fixes the birth of Herodotus in the year of the world 3520. According to which Homer must have been born in the year 3120, that is to say, 340 years after the taking of Troy

We have no better assurances concerning the of his nativity, for which honour seven cities contended. Smyrna seems to have carried it against the

I ha,

I have spoken of epic poetry and Homer towards the end of the second volume of this history, and with much greater extent in the first of my treatises upon the study of the Belles Lettres, where I have endeavoured to give the reader a taste of the beauties of this poet.

Virgil, if we may judge of his views by his work, seems to have proposed no less to himself than to dispute the superiority of epic poetry with Greece, and borrowed arms from his rival himself for that purpose. He justly discerned, that, as he was to bring the hero of his poem from the banks of the Scamander, it would be necessary for him to imitate the *Odyssey*, which contains a great series of voyages and narratives; and, as he was to make him fight for his settlement in Italy, that it would be as necessary to have the *Iliad* perpetually before his eyes, which abounds with action, battles, and all that intervention of the gods, which heroic poetry requires. *Æneas* makes voyages like *Ulysses*, and fights like *Achilles*. Virgil has interwoven the forty-eight books of Homer in the twelve of the *Æneid*. In the six first we discover the *Odyssey* almost universally, as we do the *Iliad* in the six last.

The Greek poet has a great advantage, and no less pretence of superiority, from having been the original, which the other copied; and what \* *Quintilian* says of *Demosthenes*, in regard to *Cicero*, may with equal justice be applied to him, that, however great *Virgil* may be, *Homer* in a great measure made him what he is. This advantage does not however fully decide their merit, and to which of them the preference ought to be given will always be a matter of dispute.

We may in this point abide by the judgment of *Quintilian*, who, whilst he leaves the question undecided in a few words, perfectly specifies the charac-

\* *Cedendum vero in hoc quidem, quod & ille (Demosthenes) prior fuit, & ex magna parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit. Lib. 10. cap. 1.*

## OBI POETRY.

ters that distinguish those two excellent poets. He tells us there is more genius and force of nature in the one, and more art and application in the other; and that what is wanting in Virgil on the side of the sublime, in which the Greek poet is indisputably superior, is perhaps compensated by the justness and equality that prevail universally throughout the *Æneid*: *Est verule, ut illi natura celesti atque immortaliter cesserimus, ita cura & diligentia vel ideo in hoc plus est, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincitur, fuisse æqualitate pensamus.* It is very hard to characterise these two poets better. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are two great paintings, of which the *Æneid* is an abridgment or miniature. The latter requires a nearer view: every thing in it therefore must be perfectly finished. But great pictures are seen at a distance: it is not necessary, that they should be so exact and regular in all their strokes: too scrupulous a niceness is even a fault in such paintings.

## HESIOD.

HESIOD is said to have been born at Cumæ, a city of *Æolia*, but brought up from his infancy at *Ascra*, a small town of *Boeotia*, which from thence passed for his country: Virgil also calls him the old man of *Ascra*. Authors differ much concerning the time in which he lived. The most general opinion is, that he was Homer's cotemporary. Of all his poems only three have come down to us: these are *The Works and Days*; *The Theogonia*, or the genealogy of the gods; and *The Shield of Hercules*; of which I have spoken elsewhere.

*Ascraum-  
que senem.  
Æch. 6.*

Vol. II.  
of Ancient  
History.

Quintilian gives us his character in these words\*:  
“Hesiod seldom rises upon himself, and the greatest part of his works consists almost entirely of proper names. He has however useful sentences for”

\* *Raro affurgit Hesiodus, magnaue pars ejus in nominibus occupata: tamen utiles circa præcepta sententiæ, lenitasque verbum & compositionis probabiliter daturque et palma in illo modo dicendi generis.* Lib. 10. c. 1.

conduct of life, with sufficient sweetness of words,  
and no unhappiness of stile. He is allowed to  
have succeeded best in the middle way of writing."

POETS less known.

TERPANDER. He was very famous both for  
poetry and music.

TYRTÆUS. He is believed to have been an A. M.  
Athenian. This poet made a great figure in the se-  
cond war of Messene. He excelled in celebrating mi-  
litary exploits. The Spartans had been several times  
defeated to their great discouragement. The oracle  
of Delphos bade them ask a man of the Athenians  
capable of assisting them with his counsel and abi-  
lities. Tyrtæus was sent them. The consequence at  
first did not answer the expectations of the Spartans.  
They were again defeated three times successively,  
and were upon the point of returning to Sparta in  
despair. Tyrtæus re-animated them by his verses,  
which breathed nothing but the love of one's country  
and contempt of death. Having resumed courage,  
they attacked the Messenians with fury, and the vic-  
tory they obtained, upon this occasion, terminated a  
war they could support no longer to their advantage.  
They conferred the freedom of their city upon Tyr-  
tæus, a privilege they were by no means too profuse  
of at Lacedæmon, which made it exceedingly ho-  
nourable. The little that remains of his writings  
shews that his stile was very vigorous and noble.  
He seems transported himself with the ardour he  
endeavours to give his hearers:

Tyrtæusque mares animos in Martia bella  
Versibus exaquit. Horat. in Art. Poet.

By verse the warrior's fire Tyrtæus feeds,  
And urges manly minds to glorious deeds.

DRACO, a celebrated Athenian legislator. He A. M.  
composed a poem of three thousand lines, intitled 3368.  
Ἰσοβουλία,

Ἰσθμίων, in which he laid down excellent precepts for the conduct of life.

A. M.

3368.

Suidas.

Herod.

l. 4. c. 36.

Jambli. in

vit. Pyth.

ABARIS, a Scythian by nation, according to Suidas, surnamed by others the Hyperborean. He composed several pieces of poetry. Stories of the last absurdity are told of him, which even Herodotus himself does not seem to believe. He contents himself with saying that Barbarian had carried an arrow throughout the whole world, and that he ate nothing. Jamblious goes farther, and pretends that Abaris was carried by his arrow through the air, and passed rivers, seas, and the most inaccessible places in that manner, without being stopp'd by any obstacle. It is said, that, upon account of a great plague that raged in the country of the Hyperboreans, he was deputed to Athens by those people.

A. M.

3476.

CHÆRILUS. There were several poets of this name. I speak of him\* in this place, who, notwithstanding the badness of his verses, in which there was neither taste nor beauty, was however much esteemed and favoured by Alexander the Great, from whom he received as great a reward as if he had been an excellent poet. Horace observes that liberality argued little taste in that prince, who had been so delicate in respect to painting and sculpture, as to prohibit by an edict all painters, except Apelles, to draw his picture, and all statuarys, but Lysippus, to make his statue in brass. Sylla, amongst the Romans, acted as liberally, but with more prudence than Alexander, in regard to a poet who had presented him with some wretched verses: † He ordered a reward

\* Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille  
Chærilus, incultis qui veribus & male natis  
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippios,

Idem rex ille, poema  
Qui tam ridiculum tam carè prodigus emit,  
Edicto vetuit ne quis se, præter Apellem,  
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra  
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. Hor. Ep. 1. l.

† Jussit ei præmium tribui, sub ea conditione ne quid postea scriberet. Cic. pro Arch. poet. n. 25.



to be given him, upon condition that he would never write more: very hard terms to a bad poet, however reasonable in themselves.

ARATUS was of Soloe, a city of Cilicia. He \* A. M. composed a poem upon astronomy, which was very <sup>373<sup>a</sup></sup> much esteemed by the learned, according to Cicero. Quintilian speaks less favourably of it. He says, † that the subject of Aratus was very dry and un-affecting, from having neither variety, passions, character, nor harangue in it: but that however he had done as much with it as his matter would admit, and had made choice of it as suiting his capacity. Cicero, at seventeen years of age, had translated the poem of Aratus into Latin verse, of which many fragments are come down to us in his treatise *De Natura Deorum*.

APOLLONIUS of Rhodes composed a poem upon A. M. the expedition of the Argonauts: *Argonautica*. <sup>375<sup>b</sup></sup>

He was a native of Alexandria, and had succeeded Eratosthenes as keeper of the famous library there in the reign of Ptolomæus Evergetes. Upon seeing himself ill treated by the other poets of that place, who loaded him with calumnies, he retired to Rhodes, where he passed the rest of his days. This occasioned his being surnamed *the Rhodian*.

EUPHORION of Chalcis. Antiochus the Great A. M. intrusted him with the care of his library. † Virgil <sup>375<sup>b</sup></sup> mentions him in his *Bucolics*. <sup>Eclog. 10. v. 50.</sup>

NICANDER of Colophon in Ionia, or, according to others, of Ætolia. He flourished in the time of A. M. Attalus, the last king of Pergamus. He composed <sup>385<sup>a</sup></sup> some poems upon medicine; *Θηριακά* and *Ἀλιεΐφάρμακα*.

\* Constat inter doctos hominem ignarum Astrologiæ, ornatissimis atque optimis verbis Aratum de cœlo stellisque dixisse.

† Arati materia motu caret, ut in qua nulla varietas, nullus affectus, nulla persona, nulla cujusquam sit oratio. Sufficit tamen operi, cui se parem credidit. *Lib. 10. c. 1.*

‡ Quid? Euphorionem transibimus? Quem nisi probasset Virgilius, idem nunquam cœle conditorum Chalcidico versu carminum fecisset in *Bucolicis* mentionem. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

and

and others upon agriculture, which \* Virgil imitated in his *Georgics*.

A. M.

3856.

Lib. 3. de

Orat.

n. 194.

Val. Max.

l. 1. c. 8.

Plin. l. 7.

c. 51.

ANTIPATER of Sidon. Cicero informs us, that he had so great a talent for poetry, and such a facility in making verses, that he could express himself extemporaneously in hexameters, or any other kind of verse, upon any subject. Valerius Maximus and Pliny say, that he had a fever regularly once every year upon the same day, which was the day of his birth and death.

A. M.

3858.

A. Licinius ARCHIAS, for whom Cicero's oration is extant. He wrote a poem upon the war with the Cimbri, and began another upon Cicero's consulship. We have still some of his epigrams in the *Anthologia*.

Macro.

l. 5. c. 17.

PARTHENIUS lived at the same time. He had been taken prisoner in the war with Mithridates, and was Virgil's master in Greek poetry.

A. D. 362.

APOLLINARIUS, bishop of Laodicea in Syria. I do not consider him here as a bishop, but as a poet, who distinguished himself very much by Christian poetry. Julian the Apostate had forbade all masters, by a public edict, to teach the children of Christians the profane authors. The pretext for this edict was, that it was not consistent to explain them to youth as illustrious writers, and at the same time to condemn their religion. But the true motives for that prohibition were the great advantages the Christians found in the profane books against paganism. This edict induced the two Apollinarii to compose several works of use to religion.

The father, of whom we speak, and who was a grammarian, wrote in heroic verse, and in imitation of Homer, the Sacred history in four and twenty books down to the reign of Saul, denominating each book with a letter of the Greek alphabet. He imitated Menander in comedies, Euripides in tragedies

\* Quid? Nicandrum frustra secuti Macer atque Virgilites? *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

and Pindar in odes; taking his subjects from the Holy Scripture, and observing the character and stile of the several kinds of poetry in which he wrote; in order that the Christians might dispense with the want of the profane authors in learning the Belles Lettres.

His son, who was a sophist; that is to say, a rhetorician and philosopher, composed dialogues after the manner of Plato, to explain the gospels and the doctrine of the Apostles.

Julian's persecution was of so short a continuance, that the works of the Apollinarii became useless, and the profane authors were again read. Hence of all their poems none are come down to us, except the Psalms paraphrased by Apollinarius the elder, who had the misfortune to give into heterodox opinions concerning Jesus Christ.

St. GREGORY of Nazianzum, cotemporary with A. D. Apollinarius, composed also a great number of verses<sup>350</sup> of all kinds: Suidas makes them amount to thirty thousand, of which only a part have been preserved. Most of them were the employment and fruit of his retirement. Though he was very much advanced in years at the time he wrote them, we find in them all the fire and vigour that could be desired in the works of a young man.

In composing his poems, which served him for amusement in his solitude, and for consolation in his bodily infirmities, he had young persons, and those who love polite learning, in view. To withdraw them from dangerous songs and poems, he was for supplying them not only with an innocent but useful diversion, and at the same time for rendering the truth agreeable to them. There is also reason to believe, that one of his views was to oppose poems, in which every thing was strictly orthodox, to those of Apollinarius, that contained abundance of opinions repugnant to the Christian faith.

In making poetry subservient in this manner to religion, he recalled it to its primitive institution. He treated

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treated on nothing in his verses but such subjects of piety, as might animate, purify, instruct, or elevate the soul to God. In proposing sound doctrine to Christians in them, he banishes from them all the filth and folly of fable, and would have thought it profaning his pen to have employed it in reviving the heathen divinities, that Christ had come to abolish.

Such are the models we ought to follow. I speak here of a saint, who had all the beauty, vivacity, and solidity of wit, it is possible to imagine. He had been instructed in the Belles Lettres by the most able masters at that time of the pagan world. He had read with extreme application all the antient poets, of which we often find traces even in his prose writings. He contented himself with having acquired a refined taste of poetry from them, and with having thoroughly studied and comprehended all their beauties and delicacy; but never introduced any of the profane divinities into his own pieces, which were not re-admitted by the poets till many ages after. Ought what those glorious ages of the church condemned and forbade to be allowed now? I have treated on this\* subject elsewhere with some extent.

A. D.  
420.

For the honour of poetry and the poets, I ought not to omit mentioning EUDOCIA, the daughter of the sophist Leontius the Athenian, who, before she was a Christian, and had married the emperor Theodosius the younger, was called *Athenais*. Her father had given her an excellent education, and made her extremely learned and judicious. The surprising beauty of her aspect was however inferior to that of her wit. She wrote an heroic poem upon her husband's victory over the Persians, and composed many other pieces upon pious subjects, of which we ought very much to regret the loss.

SYNESIUS, bishop of Ptolemais, lived at the same time. Only ten hymns of his are come down to

\* *Method of studying the Belles Lettres*, Vol. I.

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I pass over in silence many other poets mentioned by authors but little known to us, and am afraid that I have already been only too long upon those of this kind.

I proceed now to the Tragic and Comic poets. But, as I have treated both with sufficient extent in the fifth volume of this history, I shall do little more in this place than mention their names, and the times when they lived.

### S E C T. II.

#### *Of the Tragic Poets.*

**T**HESPIA \* is considered as the inventor of A. M. tragedy. It is easy to judge how gross an im- 3480.  
perfect it was in its beginning. He smeared the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and carried them from village to village in a cart, from which they represented their pieces. He lived in the time of So- Plut. in  
lon. That wise legislator, being present one day at Solon.  
one of these representations, cried out, striking the p. 95.  
ground with his stick, *I am very much afraid, that these poetical fictions, and ingenious fancies, will soon have a share in our public and private affairs.*

ÆSCHYLUS † was the first that improved tragedy, A. M. and placed it in honour. He gave his actors masks, 3508.  
more decent dresses, the high-heel'd boot or buskin called *Cothurnus*, and built them a little theatre.  
‡ His manner of writing is noble, and even sublime; his elocution lofty, and soaring often to bombast.

In a public dispute of the tragic poets, instituted Plut. in  
upon account of the bones of Theseus which Cimon Cimon.  
p. 483.

\* Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ  
Dicitur & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,  
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti sæcibus ora.

*Horat. in Art. Poet.*

† Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ  
Æschylus, & modicis intravit pulpita tignis,  
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique Cothurno. *Hor. ibid.*

‡ Tragedias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit; sublimis, gravis,  
randiloquus, sæpe usque ad vitium. *Quintil. l. i. c. 1.*

had brought to Athens, the prize was adjudged to Sophocles. The grief of Æschylus was so great upon seeing himself deprived by a young poet of the glory he had so long possessed, of being the most excellent in the theatre, that he could not bear to stay in Athens any longer. He left it, and retired to Sicily to the court of king Hiero, where he died in a very singular manner. As he lay asleep in the country with his bald head uncovered, an eagle, taking it for a stone, let fall a heavy tortoise upon it, which killed him. Of fourscore and ten tragedies which he composed, some say only twenty-eight, and others no more than thirteen, carried the prize.

Suid.

A. M.  
3532.

SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES. These two \* poets appeared at the same time, and rendered the Athenian stage very illustrious by tragedies equally admirable, though very different in their stile. The first was great, lofty, and sublime: the other tender, pathetic, and abounding with excellent maxims for the manners and conduct of human life. The judgment of the public was divided in respect to them; as we are at this day in regard to † two poets, who have done so much honour to the French stage, and made it capable of disputing pre-eminence with that of Athens.

### SECT. III.

#### *Of the Comic Poets.*

A. M.  
3564.

**E**UPOLIS, CRATINUS, and ARISTOPHANES made the comedy, called *antient comedy*, very famous. This served the Greeks instead of satire. The highest perfection of what is called *Atticism* was peculiar to it, that is to say, whatever is finest, most elegant, and most delicate in stile, to which no other poetry could come near. I have spoken of it elsewhere.

\* Longe clarius illustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque E. ipides: quorum in disceptandi vi uter sit poeta melior, inter i. Aristophanem et Euripidem. *Quæstio* 1. 1. 1.

† Corneille and Racine.

MENANDER. He invented and excelled all others in the *New comedy*. Plutarch prefers him infinitely to Aristophanes. He admires an agreeable, refined, delicate, lively spirit of humour, a vein of pleasantry in him, that never departs in the least from the strictest rules of probity and good manners: whereas the bitter and merciless rally of Aristophanes is excessive abuse, is murder in jest, that without the least reserve tears the reputation of the most worthy to pieces, and violates all the laws of modesty and decency with an impudence that knows no bounds. \* Quintilian is not afraid to declare, that the brightness of Menander's merit had entirely eclipsed and obliterated the reputation of all the writers in the same way. But the greatest praise which can be given this poet is to say, that Terence, who scarce did any thing besides copying his plays, is allowed by good judges to have fallen very short of his original.

A. M.  
1580.  
Plut. in  
Moral.  
P. 253

Aulus Gellius has preserved some passages of Menander, which had been imitated by Cæcilius, an ancient Latin comic poet. At the first reading, he thought the verses of the latter very fine. But he affirms, that as soon as he compared them with those of the Greek poet, their beauty entirely disappeared, and they seemed wretched and contemptible.

Lib. 1.  
c. 17

Menander was not treated with all the justice he deserved during his life. Of more than an hundred comedies which he brought upon the stage, only eight carried the prize. Whether through intrigue or combination against him, or the bad taste of the judges, PHILEMON†, who undoubtedly deserved only the second place, was always preferred before him.

In the fifth volume we have explained all that relates to the Antient, Middle, and New Comedy.

\* Atque ille quidem omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus abstulit nomen, & fulgore quodam suæ claritatis tenebras obduxit. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Philemon, ut pravis sui temporis judiciis Menandro sæpe prælatu est, ita consensu omnium meruit credi secundus. *Quintil. ibid.*

## S E C T. IV.

*Of the Iambic Poets.*A. M.  
3280.

**A**RCHILOCUS, a native of Pharos, the inventor of Iambic verses, lived in the reign of Candaules king of Lydia. See what we have said of him towards the end of the second volume.

A. M.  
3460.  
Suidas.

HIPPONAX was a native of Ephesus. Upon being expelled from thence by the tyrants that governed there, he went and settled at Clazomenæ. He was ugly, short, and thin: but his ugliness occasioned his being immortalised; for he is hardly known by any thing except the satirical verses he composed against the brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, two sculptors who had made his figure in the most ridiculous manner in their power. He discharged such a number of keen and virulent verses against them, that, according to some authors, they hanged themselves through vexation. But Pliny observes, that statues of theirs were in being, made after that time. The invention of the verse called Scazon, *Limping*, is ascribed to Hipponax, in the last foot of which there is always a spondee instead of an Iambus.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the Lyric Poets.*

**T**HE poetry which was made to be sung to the lyre, or the like instruments, was called *Lyric Poetry*. Compositions of this kind were named odes, that is to say, songs, and were divided into strophe's or stanza's.

The end of poetry is to please the imagination. But, if the different kinds of poetry, as the pastoral, elegiac, and epic, attain that end by different means, the ode attains it more certainly, because it includ

th



them all ; and, as the famous painter of old united in one picture all that he had observed of most graceful and consummate in many of the fair sex, so the ode unites in itself all the different beauties of which the different species of poetry are susceptible. But it has still something else peculiar to itself, which constitutes its true character. This is enthusiasm ; in which view the poets believe they may also compare her to that Juno of Homer, who borrows the girdle of Venus to exalt the graces of her form, but who is still the same queen of the gods, distinguished by the air of majesty peculiar to her, and even by the fury and violence of her character.

This enthusiasm is more easy to conceive, than possible to define. When a writer is seized with it, his genius glows ardent, his imagination catches fire, and all the faculties of his soul awake, and concur to the perfection of his work. Now noble thoughts and the most shining strokes of wit, and then the most tender and beautiful images, crowd upon him. The warmth also of his enthusiasm often transports him in such a manner, that he can contain himself no longer ; he then abandons himself to that living impetuosity, that beautiful disorder, which infinitely transcend the regularity of the most studious art.

These different impressions produce different effects : descriptions sometimes simple but exquisitely beautiful, and at other times rich, noble, and sublime ; comparisons just and lively ; shining strokes of morality ; allusions happily borrowed from history or fable ; and digressions a thousand times more beautiful than the chain of the subject itself. Harmony, the soul of verse, at this moment, costs the poet no trouble. Noble expressions and happy numbers spontaneously rise up, and dispose themselves in due order, like stones to the lyre of Amphion ; and nothing seems the effect of study or pains. The poems of enthusiasm have such a peculiar beauty, that they can neither be read or heard without imparting the

same fire that produced themselves; and the effect of the most exquisite music is neither so certain nor so great, as that of verses borne in this poetic fury, this diviner flame of the mind.

This little passage, which I have extracted from the short but eloquent dissertation of the Abbé Fraguier upon Pindar, suffices to give the reader a just idea of lyric poetry, and at the same time of Pindar, who holds the first rank amongst the nine Greek poets that excelled in this way of writing, of whom it remains for me to say a few words.

A. M.

3135.  
Plut. in  
Lycurg.  
p. 47.

Plutarch speaks of \*THALES, whom Lycurgus persuaded to go and settle at Sparta. He was a lyric poet (not one of the nine mentioned just before) but under the appearance of composing only songs, he in effect did all that the gravest legislators could have been capable of doing. For all his poetical pieces were so many discourses to incline men to obedience and concord, by the means of certain numbers so harmonious, so elegant, strong, and sweet, that they insensibly rendered the manners of those that heard them less rude and savage, and induced a love of order and probity, by banishing the animosities and divisions that prevailed amongst them. Thus by the charming impressions of a melodious kind of poetry, he prepared the way for Lycurgus to instruct and amend his citizens.

A. M.

3324.  
Plut. de  
exil. p.  
399.

ALCMAN was a native of Sardis in Lydia. The Lacedæmonians adopted him on account of his merit, and granted him the freedom of their city, upon which he congratulates himself in his poems as a singular honour to him. He flourished in the time of Ardy, son of Gyges, king of Lydia.

A. M.

3398.  
Pausan.  
Lacôn.

220.

STESICHORUS was of Himera, a city of Sicily. Pausanias relates, that this poet having lost his sight as a punishment for verses which he had made in his

\* Plutarch seems to confound this Thales with Thales of ..... M., one of the seven sages, who lived above two hundred and fifty years after him.

praise of Hellen, did not recover it, till he had recanted his invectives by a new piece, the reverse of the former, which was afterwards called *Palinodia*. Quintilian \* tells us, that he sung of great wars, and the most illustrious heroes, and that he sustained the pomp and sublimity of epic poetry on the lyre. Horace gives him the same character in a single epithet, *Stesichorique graves Camanæ*, Stesichorus's lofty muse.

**ALCÆUS.** He was born at Mitylene, a city of A. M. Lesbos: it is from him the Alcaic verse took its name. <sup>3400.</sup> He was a declared enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, Herod. and in particular to Pittacus, whom he perpetually lashed in his poems. He is said to have been seized with such terror in a battle, where he happened to be, that he threw down his arms, and fled. † Horace relates a like adventure of himself. Poets pique themselves less upon their valour than their wit. ‡ Quintilian says, that the stile of Alcæus is close, lofty, correct, and, what crowns his praise, that he very much resembles Homer.

**SAPPHO.** She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse is so called from her. She had three brothers, Larychus, Eurygius, and Charaxus. She celebrated the first extremely in her poems, and on the contrary is as severe against Charaxus, for being desperately in love with the courtesan Rhodope, the same that built one of the pyramids of Egypt.

Sappho composed a considerable number of poems, of which only two are come down to us, but these suffice to prove, that the praises given her by all ages for the beauty, passion, numbers, harmony, and infinite delicacies of her verse, are not without

\* Stesichorum, quam sit ingenio validus, materiam quoque ostendunt, maxima bella & clarissimos canentem duces, & Epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. *Lib. 10. cap. 1.*

† Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam  
Sensi, relicta non bene parmula.

‡ In eloquendo brevis, & magnificus, & diligens, plerumque Homero similis, *l. 10. c. 1.*

foundation. Hence she was called the *Tenth Muse*, and the people of Mitylene caused her image to be stamped on their coin.

It were to be wished that the purity of her manners had equalled the beauty of her genius, and that she had not dishonoured her sex and poetry by her vices and licentiousness.

It is said, that frantic with despair thro' the obstinate resistance to her desires of Phaon, a young man of Lesbos, she threw herself into the sea from the top of the promontory of Leucadia in Acarnania; a remedy frequently used in Greece by those who were unfortunate in this passion.

A. M.

3572.

Her. l. 3.

p. 121.

In Hip-

parch. p.

228—229.

ANACREON, This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He passed much of his time at the court of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, famous for the uninterrupted prosperity of his life and tragical end; and was not only of all his parties of pleasure, but of his council. Plato informs us, that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a galley of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote to him, in the most obliging terms, to prevail upon him to come to Athens, where his fine works would be esteemed and tasted according to their merit. Joy and pleasure are said to have been his sole study, as indeed we may well believe from what remains of his poems. They every-where shew, that his hand wrote what his heart felt, and are of a delicacy more easy to conceive than express. Nothing would be more estimable than his compositions, had their object been better,

A. M.

3444.

SIMONIDES. He was of the island of Cea, one of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea. He wrote the famous naval battle of Salamis in the Doric dialect. \* His style was delicate, natural, and agreeable. He was pathetic, and excelled in exciting compassion,

\* Simonides tenuis, alioqui sermone proprio & iucunditate quidam commendari potest. Præcipua tamen ejus in commoveri miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus ejus operis auctoribus præferant. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

which was his peculiar talent, and that by which the antients have characterised him;

Paulum quidlibet allocutionis  
Mœstius lachrymis Simonideis. *Catull.*  
*Something sadder to my ears*  
*Than Simonides in tears.*

Horace says of him to the same effect :

Sed ne, relictis, musa procax, jocis,  
Cæa retractes munera nœniæ.  
*But whither, wanton muse, away,*  
*Wherefore cease we to be gay,*  
*Things of woe why thus prolong,*  
*Things that fit the Cean's song?*

IBYCUS. Nothing is known of him, besides his A. M. name, and a few fragments come down to us. 3464

BACCHYLIDES. He was of the island of Cea A. M. and the son of a brother of Simonides. Hiero pre- 3552-ferred his poems to those of Pindar in the Pythian games. Ammianus Marcellinus says, that Julian the Apostate delighted much in reading this poet.

PINDAR. Quintilian places him at the head of A. M. the nine lyric poets. His peculiar merit and pre- 3528-ailing character are that majesty, grandeur, and sublimity, which often exalt him above the rules of art, to which it were wrong to expect, that the productions of a great genius should be servilely confined. We find in his odes a sensible effect of the enthusiasm I have spoken of in the beginning of this section. It might appear a little too bold, if not softened with a mixture of less ardent and more agreeable beauties. The poet discerned this himself, which made him strew flowers abundantly from time to time. His celebrated rival Corynna reproached him with excess in this point.

Horace indeed praises him only in respect to sublimity. He calls him a swan, borne by the impetuosity of

of his flight, and the aid of the winds, above the clouds; a torrent, that, swelled by rains, bears down all before it in the rapidity of its course. But to consider it in other lights, it is a smooth stream, rolling its clear pure waves over golden sands, through flowery banks and verdant plains; a bee, collecting whatever is most precious from the flowers, for the composition of its fragrant nectar.

His stile is always suited to his manner of thinking, close, concise, without too many express connections, or transitory terms: those imply themselves sufficiently in the chain of his matter, and their absence exalts the vigour of his verses. Attention to transitions would have abated the poet's fire, in giving his enthusiasm time to cool.

In speaking thus of Pindar, I do not pretend to propose him as an author without faults. I own he has some, which it is not easy to excuse: but at the same time, the number and greatness of the beauties, with which they are attended, ought to cover and almost make them disappear. Horace, who is a good judge of every thing, and especially of our present subject, must have had a very high idea of his merit, as he is not afraid to say, that to emulate him is manifest temerity: *Pindarum quisquis studet emulari, &c.*

Ælian.

l. 13. c. 25.

Pindar had a dangerous rival in the person of CORYNNA, who excelled in the same kind of poetry, and five times carried the prize against him in the public disputes. She was surnamed *the Lyric Muse*.

Plut. in

Alex.

p. 672.

Alexander the Great, when he ruined the city of Thebes, the country of our illustrious poet, long after his death, paid a just and glorious homage to his merit in the persons of his descendants, whom he distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of that unfortunate place, by ordering particular care to be taken of them.

I have spoken elsewhere of some of Pindar's work in the history of Hiero: the reader may consult the passage, Vol. III.

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## SECT. VI.

### *Of the Elegiac Poets.*

**E**LEGY, according to Didymus, is derived from *ἐλεγεῖν*, to say, *ab! ab! or alas!* And according to others, from *ἐλεεινόν*, to say moving things. The Greeks, and after them the Romans, composed their plaintive poems, their elegies, in hexameter and pentameter verses. From whence every thing written in those verses has been called elegy, whether the subject be gay or sad.

*Verfibus impariter junctis querimonia primum,  
Mox etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos.*

*Horat. in Art. Poet.*

*Grief did at first soft elegy employ,  
That now oft dries her tears, to sing of joy.*

No Greek elegy of the first sort is come down to us, except that inserted by Euripides in his *Andromache*, which consists only of fourteen lines. The inventor of this kind of poetry is not known.

*Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,  
Grammatici certant, & adhuc sub judice lis est.*

*Ibid.*

*Yet, who first sigh'd in elegiac strain,  
The learn'd still doubt, and still contest in vain.*

As it was intended at its institution for tears and lamentations, it was employed at first only in grief and misfortune: It expressed no other sentiments, it breathed no other accents but those of sorrow. With the negligence natural to affliction and distress, it sought less to please than to move, and aimed at exciting pity, not admiration. It was afterwards used on all sorts of subjects, and especially the passion of love. It however always retained the character peculiar to it, and did not lose sight of its original invention.

vention. Its thoughts were always natural and far from the affectation of wit; its sentiments tender and delicate, its expression simple and easy, always retaining that alternate inequality of measure, which Ovid makes so great a merit in it (*In pedibus vitium causa decoris erat*) and which gives the elegiac poetry of the antients so much the advantage over ours.

Periander, Pittacus, Solon, Chilo, and Hippias wrote their precepts of religion, morality, and policy, in elegiac verse, in which Theognis of Megara, and Phocylides, imitated them. Many of the Poets also, of whom I have spoken before, composed elegies: but I shall say nothing here of any but those who applied themselves particularly to this kind of poetry, and shall make choice only of a small number of them.

A. M.  
3230.

CALLINUS. He was of Ephesus, and is one of the most antient of the elegiac poets. It is believed that he flourished about the beginning of the Olympiads.

A. M.  
3408.

MIMNERMUS, of Colophon, or Smyrna, was contemporary with Solon. Some make him the inventor of elegiac verse. He at least gave it its perfection, and was perhaps the first, who transferred it from funerals to love. The fragments of his, which are come down to us, breathe nothing but pleasure, whence Horace says of him,

Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque  
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque.

*Horat. l. i. Epist. 6.*

*As Mimnermus thinks,  
If without love and pleasure naught is joy,  
In love and pleasure life's swift hours employ.*

A. M.  
3444.

SIMONIDES, whose verses were so pathetic, might be ranked amongst the elegiac poets: but I have given him a place elsewhere.

A. M.  
3724.

PHILETAS of Cos, and CALLIMACHUS of Cyrene lived both in the court of Ptolomy Philadelphus whose preceptor Philetas certainly was, and Cal  
mach



machus is believed to have been his librarian. The <sup>Quint.</sup> latter is considered as the principal author of elegiac poetry, and as the person who succeeded best in it: *Cujus (elegiæ) princeps Callimachus*, and Philetas as the next to him: *Secundas, confessione plurimorum, Philetas occupavit.*

This is Quintilian's opinion: but Horace seems to rank Mimnermus above Callimachus:

Si plus adposcere visus,  
Fit Mimnermus, & optivo cognomine crescit.

*Epist. 2. l. 2.*

*Call him Callimachus? If more his claim,  
Mimnermus be shall be, his wish'd surname.*

Callimachus had applied himself to every kind of literature.

## SECT. VII.

### *Of the Epigrammatical Poets.*

THE epigram is a short kind of poem, susceptible of all subjects, which ought to conclude with an happy, sprightly, just thought. The word in Greek signifies *Inscription*. Those which the ancients placed upon tombs, statues, temples, and triumphal arches, were sometimes in verse, but verse of the greatest simplicity of stile. That name has since been confined to the species of poetry, of which I speak. The epigram generally consists of only a small number of lines: more extent however is sometimes given it.

I have said that this kind of poem is susceptible of all kinds of subjects. This is true, provided care be taken to exclude all calumny and obscenity from it.

The \* liberty, which the comic poets gave themselves at Athens, of attacking the most considerable

\* In vitium libertas excidit, & vim  
Dignam lege regi: lex est accepta, chorusque  
Turpiter obtulit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

and most worthy of the citizens without reserve, made way for a law to prohibit the mangling of any body's reputation in verse. At Rome, amongst the laws of the twelve tables, which very rarely condemned to death, there was one that made it capital for any body to defame a citizen in verse. Cicero's reason is no less just than remarkable. "This law," says he, was wisely instituted. There are tribunals, to which we may be cited to answer for our conduct before the magistrates: our reputation therefore ought not to be abandoned to the malicious wit of the poets, nor scandalous accusations suffered to be formed against us, without its being in our power to answer them, and defend ourselves before the judges." *Præclarè. Judiciis enim ac magistratuum disceptationibus legitimis propositam vitam, non poetarum ingeniis, habere debemus; nec probrum audire, nisi ea conditione, ut respondere liceat, Et judicio defendere.*

The second exception, which regards purity of manners, is neither less important, nor less founded in reason. Our propensity to evil and vice is already but too natural and headstrong, and does not want any incentives from the charms and insinuations of delicate verses, the poison of which, concealed under the flowers of pleasing poetry, to borrow the terms which † Martial applies to the Sirens, gives us a cruel joy, and, by its enchanting sweetness, conveys disease and bane into the soul. The wisest legislators

*Next comedy appear'd with great applause,  
Till her licentious and abusive tongue  
Waken'd the magistrate's coercive power,  
And forc'd it to suppress her insolence.*

*Roscommon.*

• Si mala condidisset in quem quis carmina, jus est  
Judiciumque.

Nostræ contra XII. tabellæ, cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sancendam putaverunt, si quis aditavisset, si carmen condidisset quod infamiam afferret, flagitiumve alteri. *de Rep. l. 4. apud S. August. l. 1. c. 9. de Civit.*

† Sirenes, hilarem navigantium poenam,  
Blandasque mortes, gaudiumque crudeles.

of antiquity always considered those who abuse the art of poetry to such purposes, as the pests of society, as the enemies and corrupters of mankind, that ought to be abhorred, and kept under with the highest marks of infamy and disgrace. Such wise laws had not the good effect to be hoped from them, especially in respect to the epigram, which of all the species of poetry has abandoned itself most to obscenity.

In observing the two rules I have now laid down, epigrams would not have been dangerous, in respect to manners, and might have been useful as to stile, by throwing into it occasionally and with discretion those agreeable, lively, quaint thoughts, which we find at the end of good epigrams. But what in its origin was beauty, delicacy, and vivacity of wit, (which is properly what the Romans understand by the words, *acutus*, *acumen*) soon degenerated into a vicious affectation that extended even to prose, of which it became the fashion studiously to conclude almost all the phrases and periods with a glittering thought, in the nature of a point. We shall have occasion to expatiate farther upon that head.

F. Vavaseur the jesuit has treated the subject we are upon more at large, in the no less learned than elegant preface to the three books of epigrams, which he has given the public. There are also useful reflections upon the same subject in the book, called *Epigrammatum Delectus*.

We have a collection of Greek epigrams called *Anthologia*.

MELEAGER, a native of Gadara, a city of Syria, who lived in the reign of Seleucus, the last king of that realm, made the first collection of Greek epigrams, which he called *Anthologia*, because as he had chosen the brightest and most florid epigrams of forty-six ancient poets, he considered his collection as a nosegay, and denominated each of those poets after some flower, Anytus *the lilly*, Sappho *the rose*, &c.

After

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After him PHILIP of Thessalonica made a second collection, in the time of the emperor Augustus, out of only fourteen poets. AGATHIAS made a third, about five hundred years after, in the reign of the emperor Justinian. PLANUDES, a monk of Constantinople, who lived in the year 1380, made the fourth and last, which he divided into seven books, in each of which the epigrams are disposed in an alphabetical order according to their subjects. This is the *Anthologia* come down to us. He retrenched abundance of obscene epigrams, for which some of the learned are not a little angry with him.

There are a great many epigrams in this collection that abound with wit and sense, but more of a different character:

## ARTICLE II.

*Of the Latin Poets.*

POETRY, as well as the other polite arts, did not find access till very late amongst the Romans, solely engrossed as they were during more than five hundred years by military views and expeditions, and void of taste for every thing called literature. By a new kind of victory, Greece, when conquered and reduced, subdued the victors in her turn, and exercised over them a power the more glorious, as it was the result of their will, and was founded upon a superiority of knowledge and science, no sooner known than homaged. That learned and polite nation, which was under the necessity of a strict commerce with the Romans, by degrees made them lose that air of rudeness and rusticity they still retained from their antient origin, and inspired them with a taste for the arts that humiliate, improve, and adorn society.

Græc

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes  
Intulit \* agresti Latio. Sic horridus ille  
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, & grave virus  
Munditiæ populêre. *Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.*

*Greece conquer'd won her martial victors hearts,  
And polish'd rustic Latium with her arts :  
The rude boarse strain expir'd of Saturn's days,  
And the muse soften'd and refin'd our lays.*

This happy change began by poetry, whose principal view is to please, and whose charms, full of sweetness and delight, impart a taste for themselves soonest and with most ease. It was however very gross and unpolished in its beginning at Rome ; and had its birth in the theatre, or at least began there to assume a more graceful and elegant air. It made its first essays in comedy, tragedy, and satyr, which it carried slowly and by insensible acquisitions to a great degree of perfection.

When the Romans had been almost four hundred years without any dramatic games, chance and debauch introduced the † Fescennine verses into one of their feasts, which served them instead of theatrical pieces near an hundred and twenty years. These verses were rude and almost void of numbers, as they were extemporaneous, and made by a rustic illiterate people, who knew no other masters but mirth and wine. They consisted of gross raillery, attended with postures and dances :

Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem  
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

*Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.*

*Fescennia's license thus found out, the swains  
Vented their taunts in rude alternate strains.*

\* Horace here gives us the time when poetry began to improve among the Latins; for it was known in Italy very early, numerus Saturnius; and, as Horace tells us again in the same epistle, at Rome in the time of Numa: Saliare Numæ carmen.

† These verses were so called from Fescennia, a city of Etruria, from whence they were brought to Rome.

Liv. l. 7.  
n. 2.

To these looser and irregular verses soon succeeded a chaster kind of poetry, which, though it also abounded with pleasant ridicule, had nothing viciously indecent in it. This poem appeared under the name of Satyr, (*Satura*) from its variety, and had regular measures, that is to say, regular music and dances: but obscene postures were banished from it. These satyrs were innocent farces, in which the spectators and actors were indifferently made the objects of mirth.

Liv. *ibid.*

Livius Andronicus found things in this state, when he conceived the design of making comedies and tragedies in imitation of the Greeks. Other poets followed his example, copying after the same originals: of these were Nævius, Ennius, Cæcilius, Pacuvius, Accius, and Plautus. These seven poets, of whom I am going to speak, lived almost all of them at the same time in the space of sixty years.

In what I propose to say here of the Latin poets, I shall not follow the order of the subject, as I have done in speaking of the Greek poets; but the order of time, which seemed to me the most proper for shewing the birth, progress, perfection, and decline of the Latin poetry.

I shall divide the whole time into three different ages. The first will consist of about two hundred years, during which Latin poetry had its birth, was improved, and gradually acquired strength. Its second age will consist of about an hundred years, from Julius Cæsar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, in which it attained its highest degree of perfection. The third age will contain the subsequent years, wherein, by a sufficiently rapid decline, it fell from that flourishing state, and at length entirely degenerated from its ancient reputation.

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## SECT. I.

*First age of Latin poetry.*

### LIVIVS ANDRONICUS.

**T**HE poet Andronicus took the prænomen of Euseb. in Chron. Livius, because he had been set at liberty by M. Livius Salinator, whose daughters he had instructed.

He represented his first tragedy a year, before A. M. the birth of Ennius, the first year after the first 3764. Punic war, and the 514th of Rome, in the consul- Cic. in Brut. n. 724 ship of C. Claudius Cento and M. Sempronius Tudit- Aul. Gell. l. 17. c. 21. anus; about an hundred and sixty years after the death of Sophocles and Euripides, fifty after that of Menander, and two hundred and twenty before that of Virgil.

### CN. NÆVIUS.

**NÆVIUS**, according to Varro, had served in the A. M. first Punic war. Encouraged by the example of 3769. Andronicus, he trod in his steps, and, five years af- Aul. Gell. ibid. ter him, began to give the public theatrical pieces: these were comedies. He drew upon himself the Euseb. in Chron. hatred of the nobility, and especially of one Metellus; which obliged him to quit Rome. He retired to Utica, where he died. He had composed the history of the first Punic war in verse.

### Q. ENNIUS.

He was born the 514th or 515th year of Rome, A. M. at Rudia a city of Calabria, and lived to the age of 3764. forty in Sardinia. It was there he came acquainted Aurel. Vic. de Vir. Illust. with Cato the Censor, who learnt the Greek lan- C. 47. 1 Tusc. n. 3. guage of him at a very advanced age, and afterwards carried him to Rome, as M. Fulvius Nobilior afterwards did to Ætolia. The son of this Nobilior caused the freedom of Rome to be granted

him, which in those times was a very considerable honour. He had composed the annals of Rome in heroic verse, and was at the twelfth book of that work in his sixty-seventh year. He had also celebrated the victories of the first Scipio Africanus, with whom he had contracted a\* particular friendship, and who always treated him with the highest marks of esteem and consideration. Some even believe that he gave his image a place in the tomb of the Scipio's. He died in the seventieth year of his age.

Scipio was well assured, that the memory of his great actions would subsist as long as Rome, and as Africa continued in subjection to Italy: † but he also believed, that the writings of Ennius were highly capable of augmenting their splendor, and perpetuating their remembrance: a person, whose glorious victories merited rather an Homer to celebrate them, than a poet, whose stile did but ill suit the grandeur of his actions!

It is easy to conceive that the Latin poetry, in its infancy, and weak at the time we are speaking of, could not have much beauty and ornament. It sometimes shewed force and genius, but without elegance and grace, and with great inequality. This Quintilian, where he draws Ennius's character, expresses by an admirable comparison: *Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent speciem, quantam religionem.* "Let us reverence Ennius, says he,

\* Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius. Itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus. *Cic. pro Arch. poet. n. 22.*

† Non incendia Carthaginiis impie  
Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa  
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant  
Laudes, quam Calabriæ Pierides.

*Hor. Od. 3. l. 4*

*Not impious Carthage burnt does more,  
Than the Calabrian muse, proclaim  
The hero's glory, who of yore  
From conquer'd Afric took his name.*



“ as we do those groves which time hath consecrated and made venerable, and of which the great and antient oaks do not strike us so much with their beauty, as with a kind of religious veneration.”

Cicero, in his treatise upon old age, relates a fact which ought to do Ennius's memory abundance of honour. He says, \* “ that poet, at the age of seventy, carried the two loads, which are commonly thought the hardest to bear, poverty and old age, not only with such constancy but gaiety, that it might almost be said he took delight in them.”

## CÆCILIVS. PACUVIVS.

These two poets lived in the time of Ennius, both however younger than him. The first, according to some, was a native of Milan, a comic poet, and at first lived with Ennius. Pacuvius, Ennius's nephew, was of Brundisium. He professed both poetry and painting, which have always been deemed sister-arts; and distinguished himself particularly in tragic poetry. Though they lived in the time of Lælius and Scipio, that is to say at a time to which the purity of language, as well as manners, seem singularly attached, their diction carries no air of so happy an age.

Lælius, however, one of the persons whom Cicero introduces in his dialogue upon friendship †, in speaking of Pacuvius as of his particular friend,

\* Annos septuaginta natus, (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quæ maxima putantur onera, paupertatem & senectutem, ut eis penè delectari videretur. *De Senect.* n. 14.

† Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. Ætatis illius ista fuit laus, tanquam innocentie, sic Latine loquendi. Non omnium tamen: nam illorum æquales Cæcilium & Pacuvium male locutos videmus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 258.

‡ Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis mei & amici M. Pacuvii nova fabula, cum ignorante rege, uter esset Orestes, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur; Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plauderant in re ficta: quid arbitrentur in vera facturos fuisse? *De amicis.* n. 24.

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says, that the people received one of his plays called *Orestes* with uncommon applause, especially the scene where Pylades declares himself to be Orestes to the king, in order to save his friend's life; and the latter affirms himself to be the true Orestes. It is not impossible but that the beauty and spirit of the sentiments might on this occasion make the audience forget the want of justness and delicacy of expressions,

## A T T I U S.

A. M.

3864.

Euseb. in  
Chron.

Aul. Gell.

l. 1. c. 1.

*L. Attius* or *Accius*, for his name is written both ways, was the son of a freedman. He exhibited some tragedies in the time of Pacuvius, though almost fifty years younger than him. We are told that some of them were performed in the edileship of the celebrated P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, in whose person five of the greatest advantages that could be possessed, are said to have been united: \* great riches, illustrious birth, supreme eloquence, profound knowledge of the law, with the office of great pontiff: [*Pontifex maximus*.]

Val. Max.

l. 8. c. 14.

This poet lived in great friendship with D. Junius Brutus, who first carried the Roman arms in Spain as far as the ocean. Accius composed verses in honour of him, with which that general adorned the porch of a temple that he built with the spoils taken from the enemy.

## P L A U T U S.

Aul. Gell.

l. 3. c. 3.

**PLAUTUS** (*M. Accius*) was of Salinæ, a city of Umbria in Italy (in Romagna.) He acquired great reputation at Rome by his comedies, at the same time with the three last poets mentioned above.

Aulus Gellius tells us, after Varro, that Plautus applied himself to merchandise, and that, having lost all he had in it, he was obliged, for the means

\* Ditiſſimus, nobiliſſimus, eloquentiſſimus; juris-conſultiſſimus, Pontifex maximus.

of life to serve a baker, in whose house he turned a corn-mill.

Of all the poets who appeared before him, only some fragments remain. Plautus has been more fortunate, nineteen of whose comedies have escaped the injuries of time, and come down almost entire to us. It is very probable, that his works preserved themselves better than others, because, as they were more agreeable to the public, the demand for them was greater and more permanent. They were not only acted in the time of Augustus, but from a passage in Arnobius it appears, that they continued Arnob. l. 7. to be played in the reign of Dioclesian, three hundred years after the birth of JESUS CHRIST.

Various judgments have been passed on this poet. His elocution seems to be generally approved, without doubt in regard to the purity, propriety, energy, abundance, and even elegance of his style. Varro says, that, if the muses were to speak Latin, they would borrow the language of Plautus: *Licet Quintil. Varro dicat musas—Plautino sermone locturas fuisse, si<sup>l. 10. c. 1.</sup> Latinè loqui vellent.* Such a praise makes no exceptions, and leaves us nothing to desire. Aulus Gell. Aul. Gell. l. 7. c. 17. speaks of him no less to his advantage: *Plautus, homo linguæ atque elegantiae in verbis Latine princeps.*

Horace, who was undoubtedly a good judge in this point, does not seem so favourable to Plautus. The whole passage is as follows:

*At nostri proavi Plautinos & numeros, &  
Laudavere sales; nimium patienter utrumque,  
Ne dicam stultè, mirati; si modo ego & vos  
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,  
Legitimumque sonum digito callemus & aure.*

Horat. in Art. Poet.

“ Our ancestors, said he to the Piso’s, practised  
“ and admired the verses and raillery of Plautus  
“ with too much indulgence, not to call it stupidity;  
“ if it be true, that either you or I know how to

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“distinguish delicate from gross raillery, and  
 “have ears to judge aright of the numbers and  
 “harmony of verse.” This criticism seems the  
 more against Plautus, as it argues, that Horace  
 was not alone in his opinion, and that the court of  
 Augustus had no greater taste than him, either for  
 the versification or pleasantries of that poet.

Horace’s censure falls upon two articles; the  
 numbers and harmony of his verses, *numeros*; and  
 his raillery, *sales*. For my part, I believe it indis-  
 pensably right to adopt his judgment in a great  
 measure. But it is not impossible that Horace, of-  
 fended at the unjust preference given by his age to  
 the antient Latin poets against those of their own  
 times, may have been a little too excessive in his  
 criticisms upon some occasions, and on this in particular.

It is certain that Plautus was not exact in his  
 verses, which for that reason he calls *numeros innu-  
 meros*, numbers without number, in the epitaph he  
 made for himself. He did not confine himself to  
 observing the same measure, and has jumbled so  
 many different kinds of verse together, that the  
 most learned find it difficult to distinguish them. It  
 is no less certain that he has flat, low, and often ex-  
 travagant pleasantries; but at the same time he has  
 such as are fine and delicate. Cicero\* for this reason,  
 who was no bad judge of what the antients called  
*Urbanity*, proposes him as a model for raillery.

These faults of Plautus therefore do not hinder  
 his being an excellent comic poet. They are very  
 happily atoned for by many fine qualities, which  
 may not only make him equal, but perhaps supe-  
 rior to Terence. This is Madam † Dacier’s judg-

\* Duplex omnino est jocandi genus: unum iliberale, petulans,  
 flagitiosum, obscenum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum,  
 facetum; quo genere non modò Plautus noster, & Atticorum antiqua  
 comœdia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri sunt referti,  
*Lib. 1. de Offic. n. 104.*

† Preface to the translation of three comedies of Plautus,

ment,

ment, (then Mademoiselle Le Fevre) in her comparison of these two poets.

“ Terence, says she, has undoubtedly most art,  
 “ but the other most wit : Terence makes more be  
 “ said than done, Plautus more done than said ;  
 “ which latter is the true character of comedy,  
 “ that consists much more in action than discourse.  
 “ This busy vivacity seems to include a farther  
 “ considerable advantage on the side of Plautus :  
 “ that is, his intrigues are always adapted to the  
 “ character of his actor, whilst his incidents are  
 “ well varied, and are never without something that  
 “ surprises agreeably ; whereas the stage seems  
 “ sometimes to stand still in Terence, in whom the  
 “ vivacity of the action, and the incidents and in-  
 “ trigues that form the plot, are manifestly defec-  
 “ tive.” This is Cæsar’s reproach of him in some  
 verses, which I shall repeat, when I come to speak  
 of Terence.

To give the reader some idea of the stile, lati-  
 nity, and antiquated language of Plautus, I shall  
 transcribe in this place the beginning of the prologue  
 of *Amphitryon*, one of his finest plays. It is spoken  
 by Mercury :

*Ut vos in vobris vultis mercimoniis  
 Emundis vendundisque me lætum lucris  
 Afficere, atque adjuvare in rebus omnibus :  
 Et ut res rationesque vestrorum omnium  
 Bene expedire vultis peregreque & domi,  
 Bonoque atque amplo auctare perpetuo lucro  
 Quasque incæpistis res, quasque incæptabitis :  
 Et uti bonis vos vestrosque omnes nuntiis  
 Me officere vultis ; ea afferam, eaque ut nuntiem,  
 Quæ maximè in rem vestram communem sient :  
 (Nam vos quidem id jam scitis concessum & datum  
 Mi esse ab diis aliis, nuntiis præstari & lucro :)  
 Hæc ut me vultis approbare, annitier  
 Lucrum ut perenne vobis semper suppetat :*

*Ita*

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*Ita buic facietis fabulæ silentium,  
Itaque æqui & iusti hic eritis omnes arbitri.*

To understand these verses, we must remember, that Mercury was the god of merchants, and the messenger of the gods.

“ As you desire me to be propitious to you in  
“ your bargains and sales; as you desire to prosper  
“ in your affairs at home and abroad, and to see  
“ a considerable profit continually augment your  
“ present and future fortunes and undertakings;  
“ as you desire that I should be the bearer of good  
“ news to yourselves and your families, and bring  
“ you such advices as are most for the benefit of  
“ your commonwealth, (for you know that by the  
“ consent of the other gods I preside over news  
“ and gain;) as you desire that I should grant you  
“ all these things, and that your gains may be as  
“ lasting as your occasions; so you will now afford  
“ this play your favourable attention, and shew your-  
“ selves just and equitable in your judgment of it.”

We often meet with fine maxims in Plautus for the conduct of life, and regulation of manners; of which I shall give one example from the play just cited. It is a speech of Alcmena's to her husband Amphitryon, which in a few lines includes all the duties of a wife and virtuous wife:

*Non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse quæ dos dicitur:  
Sed pudicitiam, & pudorem, & sedatam cupidinem,  
Deum metum, parentum amorem, & cognatum concor-  
diam:*

*Tibi morigera, atque ut munifica sim bonis, prosum probis.*

Act 2. scene 2.

“ I do not esteem that a dowry, which is com-  
“ monly called so; but honour, modesty, desires  
“ subjected to reason, the fear of the gods, the love  
“ of our parents, unity with our relations, obe-  
“ dience

“dience to you, munificence to the deserving, and  
“to be useful to the just.”

But for some passages of this kind, how many has he that are contrary to decency and purity of manners! It is great pity that this reproach should extend almost generally to the best poets of the pagan world. What Quintilian says of certain dan- L. 1. c. 8, gerous poems, may be well applied on this occasion: That youth should, if possible, be kept entirely ignorant of them, or at least that they should be reserved for riper years, and a time of life less liable to corruption: *Amoveantur, si fieri potest; si minus, certe ad firmitus ætatis robur reserventur—cum mores in tuto fuerint.*

## TERENCE.

TERENCE was born at Carthage after the second A. M. Punic war, in the 516th year of Rome. He was a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator, who, 1318. Suet. in vit. Terent. upon account of his wit, not only caused him to be educated with great care, but gave him his liberty whilst very young. It was this senator from whom our poet took the name of Terence; such as were made free usually assuming the names of the masters that set them at liberty.

He was much beloved and esteemed by the principal persons of Rome, and lived in particular intimacy with Lælius and Scipio Africanus, who took and demolished Numantia. The latter was eleven years younger than him.

Six of Terence's comedies are come down to us. When he sold the first to the ediles, it was thought proper that he should read it beforehand to Cæcilius, a comic poet as well as himself, and in great esteem at Rome, when Terence first appeared there. Accordingly he went to his house, and found him at table. He was brought in, and, as he was very ill dressed, a stool was given him near Cæcilius's bed, where he sat down and began to read. He had no sooner read

read some few verses, than Cæcilius invited him to supper, and placed him at table near himself. Judgments are not always to be formed of men by their outsides. A bad dress may often cover the most excellent talents.

The Eunuch, one of the six comedies of Terence, was received with such applause, that it was acted twice the same day, morning and evening, which perhaps had never happened to any play before; and a much better price was given for it than had ever been paid for any comedy till then: for Terence had eight thousand sesterces, that is to say, about fifty pounds.

It was publicly enough reported, that Scipio and Lælius assisted him in the composition of his plays, which rumour he augmented himself by denying it but faintly, as he does in the prologue to *the Adelphi*, the last of his comedies: *As to what those envious persons say, that he is assisted in composing his works by some illustrious persons, he is so far from taking that as the offence they intended it, that he conceives it the highest praise which could be given him, as it is a proof, that he has the honour to please those who please this audience and the whole Roman people; and who in peace, in war, and on all occasions, have rendered the commonwealth in general, and every one in particular, the highest and most important services, without being either more distant or more haughty upon that account.*

We may believe, however, that he only denied this assistance so negligently, to make his court to Lælius and Scipio, to whom he knew such a conduct would not be disagreeable. That report notwithstanding, says Suetonius in the life of Terence ascribed to him, augmented continually, and is come down to our times.

The poet Valgius, who was Horace's cotemporary, says positively in speaking of Terence's comedies:

*He*



*Hæ quæ vocantur fabulæ, cujus sunt ?  
Non hæ, qui jura populis \* recensens dabat,  
Honore summo affectus fecit fabulæ ?*

“ And pray, whose are these same comedies? Are  
“ they not his, who, after having acquired the  
“ highest glory, gave laws, and governed the peo-  
“ ple with power and authority?”

Whether Terence was for putting an end to the reproach of publishing the works of others as his own, or had formed the design of going to learn the customs and manners of the Greeks perfectly, in order to represent them the better in his plays; after having composed the six comedies still extant, and before he was thirty-five years old, he quitted Rome, where he was never seen more.

Some say that he died at sea in his return from Greece, from whence he brought with him an hundred and eight plays, which he had translated from Menander. Others assure us, that he died at the city of Strymphalus in Arcadia, in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, of a disease occasioned by his grief for having lost the comedies he had translated, and those he had made himself.

Terence had only one daughter, who, after his death, was married to a Roman knight, and to whom he left an house and garden of twenty acres upon the Appian way.

Cicero, in a copy of verses intituled *Διῆμος*, which signifies *a meadow*, says of Terence:

*Tu quæque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,  
Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum  
In medio populi sedatis vocibus effers,  
Quidquid come loquens, atque omnia dulcia linquens.*

That is, *And you, Terence, who alone translate Menander with so much eloquence, and make him speak the*

\* I don't know what this word means here, and believe it some error crept into the passage.

language of the Romans so happily in your judicious choice of whatever is sweetest and most delicate in it. This testimony is for the honour of Terence, but the verses that express it not much for Cicero's.

I now proceed to those of Cæsar, which I mentioned before. That great man, who wrote with so much force and accuracy, and had himself composed a Greek tragedy, called *Œdipus*, says, addressing himself to Terence:

*Tu quoque, tu in summis, ô dimidiata Menander,  
Poneris, & meritò, puri sermonis amator.  
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis  
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore  
Cum Græcis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceres :  
Unum hoc maceror, & doleo tibi deesse, Terenti.*

“Thou also, Menander’s half, art ranked in the number of the greatest poets, and deservedly, for the purity of thy stile. And I wish thy sweet writings had in them the comic force and spirit, that thy merit might have ranked thee with the Greeks, and that thou wer’t not so much below them in that point! But this, Terence, is unhappily what you want, and I much regret.”

Terence’s great talent consists in the inimitable art of expressing the manners, and copying nature with so genuine and unstudied a simplicity, that every body believes himself capable of writing in the same manner; and at the same time with such elegance and ingenuity, as no-body has ever been able to come up to. Hence it is from this talent, that is to say, this wonderful art diffused throughout the comedies of Terence, which charms and transports without notice, or any glitter of ornaments, that Horace characterises this poet:

*Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte*

[*Dicitur.*]

Ep. 1. l. 2.

Terence,

Terence, with an extreme purity of speech and a simple and natural style, unites all the graces and delicacy of which his language was susceptible; and of all the Latin authors has come the nearest to Atticism, that is to say whatever is finest, most exquisite, and most perfect amongst the Greeks.

\* Quintilian, in speaking of Terence, of whom he only says, that his writings were highly elegant, observes, that the Roman language rendered but very imperfectly that refinement of taste, that inimitable grace, peculiar to the Greeks, and even to be found only in the Attic dialect: *Vix levem consequimur umbram, adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis venerem, quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint.* It is pity that the subject of his comedies makes them dangerous to youth; upon which I have treated at large in my books upon studying polite learning.

## LUCILIUS.

LUCILIUS, (*Caius Lucilius*) a Roman knight, A. M. was born at Sueffa, a town of Campania, in the 158th olympiad, and the 605th year of Rome, when Pacuvius the tragic poet flourished. He is said to have carried arms under the second Scipio Africanus at the siege of Numantia: but, as he was then but fifteen years old, this circumstance is dubious.

He had a great share in that famous general's friendship, as well as in that of Lælius. He was their companion in the innocent sports and amusements, to which they did not disdain to descend, and in which those great men, at their hours of leisure, endeavoured to unbend themselves after their serious and important occupations: An admirable simplicity in persons of their rank and gravity!

\* Terentii scripta sunt in hoc genere elegantissima.

## OF LATIN POETS.

Quin ubi se à vulgo & scena in secreta remōrant  
 Virtus Scipiadae, & mitis sapientia Læst,  
 Nugari cum illo, & discincti ludere, donec  
 Decoqueretur olus, soliti. *Horat. Sat. 1. l. 2.*

*With him, retir'd from crowds and state at home,  
 Wise gentle Lælius, and the pride of Rome,  
 Scipio, 'twixt play and trifle, liv'd in jest,  
 Till herbs, the frugal meal, and roots were dress'd.*

Lucilius passes for the inventor of satire, because he gave it its last form, the same in which Horace, Persius, and Juvenal have followed him. Ennius however had set him the example before, as Horace himself confesses by these verses, in which he compares Lucilius to Ennius :

Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,  
 Comis & urbanus; fuerit limator idem,  
 Quam rudis & Græcis intaelli carminis auctor.

But the \* satires of Ennius, tho' like those of Lucilius and Horace in other respects, differed from them in form, as they consisted of several different kinds of verse.

The new form which Lucilius gave satire, as I have said before, made † Horace and Quintilian consider him as the inventor of that poem; to which title he has a just claim.

There was another ‡ kind of satire, which derived itself also from the antient. It is called the *Varro-  
 nian* or *Menippean* satire; because Varro, the most

\* Olim carmen, quod ex variis poematibus constabat, SATIRA dicebatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius & Ennius. *Diomed. Grammat.* Satira, cibi genus, ex variis rebus conditum. *Festus.*

† Quid cum est Lucilius ausus  
 Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

*Sat. 1. l. 2.*

Satyra quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

‡ Alterum illud est & prius Satyræ genus, quod non sola carminum varietate condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus. *Quint. l. 10. c. 1.*

learned of the Romans was its author, imitating in that work the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara. This species of satire was not only composed of several kinds of verses, but Varro introduced prose into it, in which there was besides a mixture of Greek and Latin. The work of Petronius, that of Seneca upon the death of Claudius, and of Boetius upon the consolation of philosophy, are all satires of the same kind with this of Varro. But to return to my subject.

Lucilius composed thirty books of satires, in which he censured many persons of bad lives by name and in a very offensive manner, as Horace informs us, regarding only virtue, and the lovers of virtue :

*Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim,  
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.*

Sat. 1. l. 2.

His pen made the conscious Bad tremble, as if  
he had pursued them sword in hand :

*Ense velut strieto, quoties Lucilius ardens  
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est  
Criminibus, tacita sudant præcordia culpa.*

Juven. Sat. 1.

Lucilius \* used to say that he desired his readers might neither be very ignorant nor very learned. The one saw too little, and the other too much. The one did not know what was good, and consequently no justice was to be expected from them ; and what was imperfect could not be concealed from the penetration of the others.

It is not probable that he died at forty-six years of age, as some assure us. Horace calls him old

\* Caius Lucilius, homo doctus & perurbanus, dicere solebat, ea quæ scriberet neque ab indoctissimis, neque ab doctissimis legi velle : quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse quam de se ipse.  
*De Orat. l. 2. n. 25.*

man, where he says Lucilius confided all his secrets, and whatever had happened to him in life, to his books, as to faithful friends :

*Ille velut fidei arcana sodalibus olim  
Credebat libris : neque, si malè gesserat usquam,  
Decurrens aliud, neque si bene. Quo fit ut omnis  
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella  
Vita senis.* Sat. i. l. 2.

Pompey was grandson, or rather grand-nephew, to Lucilius, by the mother's side.

Of all his works, only some fragments of his satires are come down to us.

The reputation of this poet was very great during his life, and subsisted long after his death to such an height, that, in \* Quintilian's time, he continued to have admirers so zealous for it, as to prefer him not only to all who had written in the same way, but to all the poets of antiquity in general.

Sat. 4. l. 1. Horace judged very differently of him. He represents him to us indeed as a poet of a fine taste, and delicate in his raillery, *facetis, emunctis naribus* : but hard and stiff in his compositions ; not being able to take the pains necessary in writing, that is to say, in writing well ; for to write much was his great fault. He was highly satisfied with himself, and believed he had done wonders, when he had dictated two hundred verses in less time than one could throw them together on paper. In a word, Horace compares him to a river that with a great deal of mud carries however a precious sand along with it in its current.

Sat. 10. l. 1. The judgment Horace passed upon Lucilius, occasioned great clamour at Rome. The admirers of the latter, enraged at his having presumed to treat their hero in that manner, gave out, that Horace

\* Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non ejusdem modo operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

had only dispraised Lucilius out of envy, and with the view of setting himself above him. We ought not to be angry with them on account of those complaints, how unjust soever they might be: for they acquired us an excellent satire, wherein Horace, in rendering Lucilius all the justice he deserved, sustains and confirms the judgment he had passed on him by the most solid proofs.

For Quintilian's honour, I am sorry that a critic of his profound judgment and just taste should differ in opinion with Horace in this point. He cannot forgive him for having compared the writings of Lucilius to muddy waters, from whence however something valuable might be extracted: \* *For my part, says he, I find surprising erudition and a noble liberty in him, which gave his works poignancy with abundance of salt.* Horace allows him the last qualities, which did not prevent Lucilius from having abundance of vicious passages in him that ought either to have been amended, or retrenched. As to *erudition*, Quintilian differs directly in that respect from Cicero's opinion. For says the latter, speaking of Lucilius: † *His works are light and frothy, and with exceeding pleasantry have no great erudition.* To conclude, we can form at present no proper judgment of a poet, of whose works almost nothing is come down to us.

## S E C T. II.

*Second age of Latin poetry.*

THE interval, of which I am now to speak, continued from the time of Julius Cæsar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, and included about an hundred years. It was always considered as the

\* Nam & eruditio in eo mira, & libertas, atque inde acerbitas, & abundè salis. *Lib. 10. c. 1.*

† Et sunt scripta illius [Lucilli] leviora, ut urbanitas summa apparent, doctrina mediocris. *Cic. de Fin. l. 1. n. 7.*

## OF LATIN POETS.

golden age of polite learning, during which a crowd of fine geniusses of every kind, poets, historians and orators, carried Rome's glory to its greatest height. Literature had before made great efforts, and one may also say great progress: but it had not yet attained that degree of maturity which constitutes perfection in arts. Writings did not want good sense, judgment, solidity, and force; but they had little art, less ornament, and no delicacy. A small number of persons of great talents, rising up together in a space of time of no great duration, on a sudden and as if inspired, by adding to the excellent qualities of their predecessors others which they had wanted, established good taste of every kind irrevocably and for evermore; so that as soon as the world began to lose sight of those perfect models, every thing immediately began to decline and degenerate.

The happy beginnings, which we have related, prepared the way for the wonders that succeeded them; and as Rome derived her first notions of polite learning from Greece, so it was by her industrious perseverance in studying the Greek writers that the Romans attained perfection. The first poets, and especially the Tragic and Comic, contented themselves with translating the works of the Greeks:

Tentavit quoque, rem si dignè vertere possit,  
Et placuit sibi. *Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.*

*Essay'd to make it speak our tongue with grace,  
And pleas'd themselves.*

They afterwards took a farther step. They ventured to soar with their own wings, and composed originals entirely Roman:

Nil intentatum nostri liquere poetæ,  
Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca  
Ausi



## OF LATIN POETS.

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Ausū deferere, & celebrare domestica facta;  
Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuere Togatas.

*Id. de Art. Poet.*

*Our authors have attempted every way,  
And well deserve our praise, whose daring muse  
Disdain'd to be beholden to the Greeks,  
And found fit subjects for her verse at home.*

Roscommon.

Though the dramatic poets did not entirely succeed in these attempts, Horace did in lyric poetry.

Rome, animated with a noble emulation, which arose from reading the Greek authors, and the esteem she had conceived for them, proposed to herself to equal, and even, if possible, to surpass them: a very laudable and useful dispute between nations, and equally for their honour!

Add to this first motive the admirable character of the persons at that time in supreme authority at Rome; the esteem for men of letters; the marks of distinction with which they were honoured; the solid rewards conferred on them; and the general respect paid to persons of singular merit of every kind; a respect which almost rose so high as to equal them with the greatest and most powerful of the commonwealth. It has been the saying of all times, and cannot be too often repeated: \* Emulation nourishes wit. The view of merit in others, united with a just admiration for their excellent works, and a secret regret from the sense of our own inferiority, inspire an ardor for glory, to which nothing is impossible. And it is from these generous efforts, excited and sustained by the hopes of success, that arts attain their final perfection.

This is what happened, especially in the time of Augustus, in respect to poetry, history, and eloquence.

\* Alit æmulatio ingenia, & nunc invidia, nunc admiratio, incitationem accendit; naturaque, quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum. *Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 7.*

## OF LATIN POETS.

But poetry is our subject in this place. I shall relate in few words the history of the poets, who distinguished themselves most during this glorious age of Rome. Terence, of whom I have spoken above, may in my opinion be included in this class, who, though he preceded them in time, does not give place to them in merit. He is the first of the Latin poets who seems in some measure to have set up the standard of perfection, and to have inspired others by his example with the desire and hope of attaining it.

AFRANIUS: (*L. Afranius Quintianus.*)

AFRANIUS was much esteemed by the antients, \* He excelled in the comedies called *Togatæ* and † *Atellanæ*. Horace seems to compare him with Menander:

*Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro.*

In Art. Poet.

He was cotemporary with Terence, but much younger than him, and did not begin to grow in reputation till after his death. He ranked him above all other poets, and could not bear that any should be compared with him, of those evidently who had written in the same way:

*Torentio non similem dices quempiam.* Fragm. Afran.

Quintil.  
ibid.

He was highly considered for his poetical works, and no less condemned for the depravity of his manners.

## LUCRETIVS.

A. M.  
3908.

LUCRETIVS, (*Titus Lucretius Carus*) was born according to the chronicle of Eusebius, in the second

\* *Togatæ* excellit Afranius. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

† These comedies were called *Atellanæ*, from *Atella*, a city of *Campania*, from whence they were brought to Rome; and *Togatæ*, because they represented only Roman actions and persons, implied by *Toga*, their peculiar habit.

year

year of the 171st olympiad, twelve years after Cicero, in the consulship of L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mutius Scaevola, in the 658th year of Rome. A philtre, or love-potion, had been given him that made him mad. He had some lucid intervals from his phrensy, during which he composed his six books *De rerum natura*, wherein he explains at large the doctrine of Epicurus, of which we shall speak in its place. He inscribed his poem to C. Memmius, who had the same master, and without doubt the same sentiments, as himself.

The same chronicle of Eusebius informs us, that this work was corrected by Cicero after its author's death. Cicero speaks of Lucretius only once, tho' he had often occasion to mention him; and the passage where he does so, besides being very obscure, is variously read: *Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt* (others read *non ita sunt*) *multis luminibus ingenii, multae tamen artis.* Cic. ad Quint. Fr. Ep. 11. l. 2,

No man ever denied Providence more boldly, or treated the Divinity with more insolence and presumption, than this poet. He introduces his subject with this preface, in praise of Epicurus: "Whilst mankind, says he, groaned in shameful subjection to the oppressive yoke of imperious religion, which declared itself descended from heaven, and made the whole earth tremble at the frowns and horrors of its aspect; a mortal native of Greece first boldly ventured to expose its falshood to the eyes of men, and to declare against it, without the fame of the gods, the fear of thunders, or the rumbling noise of threatening skies, being able to awe and divert him. All those objects, on the contrary, only serve to exalt his courage, and confirm him in the design of being the first to force the barriers of nature, and to penetrate into her most mysterious secrets.

## OF LATIN POETS.

*Humanis ante oculos factè cum vita jaceret  
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione;  
Quæ caput à cæli regionibus ostendebat,  
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans:  
Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contrà  
Est oculos ausus, primusque obistere contrà.  
Quem nec fama deùm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti  
Murmure compressit cælum: sed eo magis acrem  
Incitat virtutem animi, confringere ut arcta  
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.*

Lucretius, throughout his whole work, lays down as a principle, that the gods neither regard nor interfere in any thing; and takes it upon him to explain the effects of nature, and the formation and conservation of the world, by the sole motion of atoms, and to refute those, who acknowledge the power and wisdom of a Divinity as the first cause of all things. The reader will be better acquainted with his opinions, when I come to explain those of his master Epicurus.

This poet has abundance of genius, force, and sublimity: but his verses are so very remote from the sweetness and harmony of Virgil's, that one would believe he had lived ages before him,

## CATULLUS.

A. M.  
3916.

CATULLUS (*Caius* or *Quintus Valerius Catullus*) was born at Verona in the 666th year of Rome. The delicacy of his verses acquired him the friendship and esteem of the men of learning and wit, of whom there were then great numbers at Rome.

He wrote two satirical epigrams against Cæsar, in one of which \* he speaks of him with an air of haughtiness and contempt, that Quintilian justly treats as extravagance:

\* Negat se magni facere aliquis poetarum utrum Cæsar ater an albus hinc sit: insania. *Quintil.* l. 11. c. 1.

Nil nimium, Cæsar, studeo tibi velle placere ;  
Nec scire utrum sis ater an albus homo.

*To please you, Cæsar, is not much my care ;  
Nor to know whether you are black or fair.*

These verses, as disrespectful as they were, only served the person offended, as an occasion of distinguishing his moderation. Cæsar did not dissemble his displeasure, but contented himself with obliging the poet to ask his pardon, and invited him to supper the same evening.

An elegant simplicity, and natural graces, form the character of Catullus. Happy, if he had not often disgraced that amiable delicacy by his Cynic immodesty.

#### L A B E R I U S: (*Decimus.*)

LABERIUS, a Roman knight, succeeded admirably in composing mimes or farces. At Rome, a man of birth did not disgrace himself by writing poetic pieces for the stage, but could not act them without degrading himself. Notwithstanding this had long been an established opinion, Julius Cæsar pressed Laberius very earnestly to act one of his pieces upon the stage, and, to induce him to comply, gave him a considerable sum of money. The poet refused it a great while, but was at last obliged to yield. The \*desire of a prince, upon such an occasion, is a command. In the prologue to this farce, Laberius vents his grief most respectfully with regard to Cæsar, but at the same time in very pathetic terms. It is one of the finest fragments of antiquity, and I have inserted it at length, with the translation, in the first volume of the second edition of my treatise upon study. Macrobius has

\* Potestas, non solum si invitet, sed &, si supplicet, cogit. *Macrob.*

Quod est potentissimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat. *Auson.*

## OF LATIN POETS.

preserved it with some other fragments of the same piece of poetry.

He informs us also that this Roman knight, out of his great regret to see his age dishonoured in that manner, and to avenge himself by the only means in his power, maliciously inserted, in the farce we speak of, several home strokes against Cæsar. A servant beaten by his master cried out: *Help, Romans, we lose our liberty.*

*Porro, Quirites! Libertatem perdimus.*

And a little after he added: *He must necessarily fear many, whom many fear.*

*Necesse est multos timeri, quem multi timent.*

The whole people knew Cæsar in those strokes, and cast their eyes upon him. When the performance was over, Cæsar, as if to reinstate him in the dignity of a Roman knight, from which he had departed through complaisance for him, rewarded him with a ring, which might be considered as a new patent of nobility. Laberius went afterwards to take his place amongst the knights; but they pressed together in such a manner, that there was no room for him.

## SYRUS.

P. SYRUS was a Syrian by nation, whence he took his surname of Syrus. From a slave at Rome, whither he was brought in his infancy, he became a freedman very soon, and was instructed with great distinction. He excelled in mimic poetry, in which he was Laberius's rival, and even surpassed him, in the judgment of Cæsar. But the preference he gave him was thought to be intended only to mortify Laberius, for his having thrown some malicious strokes against him into his farce.

We

We have a work of Syrus's, which consists of sentences in Iambic verse, disposed alphabetically. Seneca the Elder repeats the opinion of Cassius Severus, who preferred these sentences before whatever is best in the tragic and comic poets. This is saying a great deal. Seneca the Younger considered them also as an excellent model.

Not long since a translation of these sentences, and a poem of Cornelius Severus, intitled \* *Ætina*, which had never appeared before in French, have been published. We are much obliged to authors who endeavour to enrich our language with antient works, unknown and therefore new to it. † This translator observes, that La Bruyere has scattered almost all the sentences of P. Syrus throughout his characters, of which he gives us several examples like the following :

*Fortuna usu dat multa, mancipio nihil.  
Levis est fortuna : cito reposcit, quod dedit.*

“ Fortune gives nothing, and only lends for a  
“ time. To-morrow the fickle goddess resumes,  
“ from her favourites, what now she seems to give  
“ them for ever,

*Mortem timere crudelius est, quam mori.*

“ Death comes but once, though it puts us in mind  
“ of it at every moment of our lives. It is much  
“ more grievous to apprehend, than to suffer it.

*Est vita misero longa, felici brevis.*

\* This poem is written in hexameters, and is the second in the *Opuscula* ascribed to Virgil, in the folio edition of Crispinus, Lugduni 1539, which perhaps Mr. Rolin acquer saw. Domitius Calderinus the commentator tells us in the argument : Hoc Virgilianum esse opus plerique ex authoribus testantur : & Seneca in epist. adeo ut Naso-nem non ob aliam causam opus de *Ætina* dimisisse affirmet, nisi propter Virgillum, quem jam scripsisse compertum habebat. Cornelius Severus etiam ob eandem causam deterritus traditur.

† M. Accarias of Serienne.

## OF LATIN POETS.

“ Life is short to those who possess it in pleasures  
 “ and enjoyments : it seems long only to such as  
 “ languish in affliction.”

## POLLIO.

- POLLIO (*C. Asinius Pollio*) a person of consular dignity, and a celebrated orator, had also composed tragedies in Latin, which were much esteemed in his time. Horace speaks of him more than once :

*Paulum severæ Musa Tragicæ*

*Desit pœnatris.*—————

Ode 1. l. 2.

—————*Pollio regum*

*Facta canit pede ter percusso,*

Sat. 10. l. 2.

Virgil also mentions him with praise,

*Pollio & ipse facit nova carmina.*

Eclog. 3.

\* He was the first who opened a library at Rome for the use of the public.

Augustus pressing him to espouse his party against Antony, he represented to him that the services he had done and received from that competitor would not admit his entering into engagements against him : that therefore he was determined to continue neuter, well assured that he should become the victor's prey.

The same prince, having, on another occasion, wrote Fescennine verses against him, † *I shall take great care*, said he, *not to answer. For it is not easy to scribble against a man who can proscribe.*

## VIRGIL.

A. M.

3934.

An. U. C.

684.

VIRGIL (*Publius Virgilius Maro*) was born in a village called Andes near Mantua, of very obscure

\* Asinii Pollionis hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus, Bibliothecam dicando, ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 1.

† At ego taceo. Non est enim facile in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere.

parents,



## OF LATIN POETS:

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parents, in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus.

Vit. Virg.  
incert.  
Auct.

He passed the first years of his life at Cremona, and at seventeen put on the *toga virilis* (the habit of manhood) on the same day that the poet Lucretius died.

After having made some stay at Milan, he removed to Naples, where he studied the Greek and Roman literature with extreme application, and afterwards the mathematics and physic.

Several little poems are ascribed to Virgil's youth, which seem unworthy of him.

Having been driven out of his house and a small piece of land, which was his whole estate, by the distribution of the territory of Mantua and Cremona amongst the veteran soldiers of Augustus, he came for the first time to Rome, and, by the favour of Pollio and Mæcenæ, both patrons of learning and learned men, recovered his estate, and was again put into possession of it.

A. M.  
3963.  
An. U. C.  
713.

This occasioned his first eclogue, and made him known to Augustus, of whom he had inserted a fine praise in that poem, a precious monument of his gratitude. Thus his distress became in the consequence the source of his good fortune. He finished his *Bucolics* in three years: a work of extreme delicacy, and a specimen of what was to be expected from a hand that knew so well how to unite the graces of nature with correctness and purity of style. Horace gives us the character of these pastorals in two words:

—————Molle atque facetum  
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.

*The soft and easy grace of rural strains  
The muses, that delight in woods and plains,  
Have giv'n to Virgil.*

• Every

• Every body knows that in good latinity the word *facetus* is not only applicable to raillery and pleasantry, but to every discourse and work of wit, in which fine genius, delicacy and elegance are the prevailing characters.

Mæcenas, who had a great taste for poetry, and had discerned all Virgil's merit in the proof he had lately given of it, would not suffer him to rest till he had engaged him to undertake a new work more considerable than the former. It is making a noble use of one's influence, and rendering great service to the public, to animate persons of learning in this manner, who often, for want of such inducements, remain inactive, and leave the greatest talents unemployed and useless. It was therefore by the advice of Mæcenas that Virgil began the Georgics, to which he applied himself seven years.

A. M.

3967.

An. U. C.

717.

To enable himself to devote his whole attention to it, and to avoid every thing that might divert his thoughts, he retired to Naples. He tells us this circumstance himself, at the end of the fourth book of the Georgics, and also gives us the date of the time when he finished them, which was in the

Dio. Cass.  
l. 51.

724th year of Rome, when Augustus, on his return from Egypt, having advanced towards the Euphrates, by the terror of his arms, and the fame of the victories he had lately obtained, put the country into a consternation, and obliged Tiridates and Phraates, who disputed the Parthian empire with each other, to conclude a kind of accommodation :

*Hæc super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam,  
Et super arboribus: Cæsar dum magnus ad altum  
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes  
Per populos dat jura, viamque affertat Olympi.  
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat  
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis ovis.*

• *Facetum* non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere—Decoris hanc magis, & excultæ cujusdam elegantie appellationem puto. *Regintil.* l. 6. c. 3.

The

The leisure he enjoyed at that time at Naples was far from *ignoble* and obscure, as he thought fit to call it in this place. His Georgics, which were the fruits of it, in respect to the diction, are the most finished of all the works he has left us, and even of all the poems that were ever composed in Latin. This proceeded from his having sufficient time to polish and put the last hand to them.

He retouched his works with an attention and accuracy not easily to be conceived. When the first fire of composing, in which every thing pleases, was over, he revised his productions, not with the complaisance of an author and parent, but the inexorable severity of a rigid critic, and almost an enemy. In the morning he composed a considerable number of verses; and, returning to the examination of them, employed the rest of the day in correcting and reducing them to a very small number.

He used to compare himself to the Bear, who from gross and unformed lumps, as her young ones are at their birth, gives them shape and proportion, by the pains she takes in licking them. Thus excellent works are formed. It was by this diligence in correcting Virgil became the standard of good poetry amongst the Latins, and set the example of accurate, sweet, and harmonious versification. If we compare his verses not only with those of Cicero, but of Lucretius and Catullus, the latter will appear rough, unpolished, harsh, antique, and, as I have said before, we shall be tempted to believe them the verses of some ages before Virgil.

We are told that Augustus, at his return from his military expeditions, believed he could not unbend himself better after his fatigues, than by hearing this admirable poem read, to which he devoted four days successively. Virgil read him one book each day. He had a wonderful talent in making the beauty of his verses sensible by a sweet, articulate, and harmonious pronunciation. As soon as  
he

he seemed a little out of breath, Mæcenas took his place, and went on. Days passed in this manner: are highly agreeable to a prince of fine taste and wit: a pleasure infinitely superior to those insipid and frivolous diversions, which almost engross the generality of men. But at the same time how admirable is the goodness of this Lord of the world, who thus familiarises himself with a man of letters, who treats him almost as his equal, who carefully spares him his voice and his spirits, and considers his health as a public good!

I do not know, however, whether it was sparing Virgil to treat him with such affecting marks of friendship and esteem; for an author, after such favours, spares himself no longer, and sooner or later consumes himself by his tenacious attachment to his studies.

Virgil immediately after began his *Æneid*, to which he applied himself twelve years. Augustus, when employed in the war against the Cantabrians, pressed him earnestly, by several letters which he wrote him, to send him some part of the *Æneid*: but Virgil always excused himself. He\* represented to him, that, if he had thought his *Æneas* worthy of that honour, he should willingly have sent him to Cæsar; but that he had found the work far more difficult than he imagined it, and that he began to fear, that it was rashness and a kind of madness in him to undertake it.

A. M.

3976.

An. U. C.

731.

On the return of that prince, Virgil could no longer refuse to satisfy his just impatience, and accordingly read him the second, fourth, and sixth books of the *Æneid*, in the presence of his sister Octavia. She had some time before lost her son M. Claudius Marcellus, a prince of infinite merit, whom Augustus intended for his successor in the

\* De *Ænea* quidem meo, si mehercule jam dignum auribus haberem tuis, libenter mitterem. Sed tanta inchoata res est, ut penè vitio mentis tantam opus ingressus mihi videar. *Macrob. l. i. c. ult.*

empire.

pire. Virgil had given the praise of young Mar-  
 cius a place in the sixth book of the *Æneid* with  
 much address, that it is impossible to read it  
 without being exceedingly moved. When he came  
 to this passage, the rehearsal of the verses, which  
 were twenty-six in number, made the emperor and  
 Livia weep immoderately. It is even said, that  
 Livia swooned away at these words, *Tu Marce-*  
*leris*. She ordered (*dena sestertia*) ten great fes-  
 tivities to be paid the poet for each of those verses,  
 which amounted to about seventeen hundred pounds  
 sterling.

Virgil, after having finished the *Æneid*, designed  
 to retire for three years in order to revise and po-  
 lish it. He set out with this view for Greece. At  
 Athens he met Augustus, on his return from the  
 East, and thought proper to change his purpose,  
 and to attend that prince to Rome. He was taken  
 sick upon the way, and staid behind at Brundisium.  
 Finding his illness increase, he earnestly desired his  
 manuscripts to be brought him, in order to throw  
 the *Æneid* into the fire. Because nobody had com-  
 plaisance enough to comply with that request, he  
 ordered that poem, by his will, to be burnt, as an  
 imperfect work. Tucca and Varius, who were  
 with him, represented, that Augustus would never  
 suffer it, and upon that remonstrance Virgil left his  
 writings to them, upon condition that they would  
 add nothing to them, and leave the hemisticks as  
 they found them.

Virgil died at Brundisium, in the 735th year of A. M.  
 Rome, aged fifty-two. His bones were carried to 3980.  
 Naples, and buried two miles from that city, with  
 this inscription on his tomb, which he made him-  
 self, and which in two lines includes the place of his  
 birth, death and burial, with the number of his works:

*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc*  
*Parthenope, cecini pascua, rura, duces.*

VOL. II.

Z

The

The Epic poem must be a work of extreme difficulty, as, during so many ages, Greece and Rome scarce produced two geniusses sufficiently sublime to sustain it in all its spirit and dignity. And, since them, has the world, in any language whatsoever, \* poems of this kind that can justly be compared with those of Homer and Virgil?

I have observed, in speaking of the former, in what manner Virgil had formed the design and plan of the *Æneid* upon the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, which gives the original a great advantage over the copy. Past ages however have not yet decided to which of the two the preference ought to be given. Till judgment can be passed in this point, which in all probability will never happen, we may adhere to Quintilian's opinion, cited before in the article of Homer. † There is, says he, more genius and force of nature in Homer; and more art and labour, because more of both was necessary, in Virgil. The first is indisputably superior in the grand and the sublime: the other perhaps makes us amends for what he wants in those points, by the harmony of parts, and the exact equality he supports throughout his work. To this we may add, that Virgil did not live to put the last hand to his poem, which, without doubt, would have made it much more perfect than it is, though, as we have it, it is of inestimable value.

Sueton. in  
Calig.  
c. 34.

We may most certainly ascribe to Caligula's madness the contempt and hatred he expressed for Virgil, whose writings and portraits he industriously endeavoured to have banished out of all libraries.

\* It is certain that our MILTON was not inferior to either of them in many of the characters of Epic poetry; and that he was in some superior to them both, as in the grandeur of his matter, his learning, characters, and the machinery of his work. See Addison on Milton.

† Et hercule, ut illi naturæ cœlesti atque immortalī cesserimus, ita curæ & diligentiae vel ideo in hoc plus est, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortasse æqualitate pensamus. *Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

He

He had the extravagance to say that poet had neither wit nor learning: *nullius in genis, minimeque doctrinae*. The emperor Alexander Severus judged very differently of him. He called him the Plato of the poets, and placed his picture, with that of Cicero, in the chapel, where had placed Achilles and other great men. It is highly for the honour of learning to see an emperor give poets, orators, and conquerors the same rank.

Lamprid,  
Alex.  
Sever.

In the life of Horace, I shall relate a circumstance in that of Virgil, which in my judgment does him as much or even more honour, than his genius for poetry.

## H O R A C E.

HORACE (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) was of Venusianum, and, as he says himself, the son of a freedman. He was born in the 688th year of Rome.

394o.

His father, though only a freedman, and of a very moderate fortune, took particular care of his education. Persons of fortune, and rich officers of the army, contented themselves with sending their children to a master who taught them to read, write, and cast accounts. But Horace's father, who had discovered in his son a fund of genius capable of the greatest things, had the courage to carry him to Rome, in order to give him such an education as knights and senators gave their children. To see the manner in which young Horace was dressed, and the slaves that followed him, one might have taken him, says he of himself, for the rich heir of a long train of opulent ancestors; whilst his father, however, had only a small piece of land for his whole estate. He was perhaps excessive, in this point: but who would venture to condemn him? He was not afraid of ruining either himself or his son by employing his whole income for his instruction, judging a good education the best patrimony he could leave him. He did more;

Hor. Sat. 6.  
l. 4.

he took upon himself the care of him, served him instead of a governor, and went with him to all his masters :

*Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes  
Circum Doctores aderat.*

We are charmed with the respect and warm gratitude which Horace, during his whole life, expresses for such a father. " By his care, says he, " he preserved me free, not only from all acts of " impurity, which is the highest praise of virtue, " but from all reproach or suspicion of that kind." Let young persons consider well these words, and remember that it is an Heathen that thinks and speaks in this manner :

*Quid multa? Pudicum  
Qui primus virtutis bonus, servavit ab omni  
Non solum fasce, verum opprobrio quoque turpi.*

Horace's father, though a man of no letters or erudition, was of no less use to his son, than the most able masters he could hear. He took pains himself to form him, instructed him familiarly, and made it his business to inspire him with an abhorrence for vice, by pointing it out to him under sensible examples. If he would have him avoid some criminal action : Could you doubt, said he, to him, whether the action I would have you shun be contrary to virtue and your true interest, when such an one, who had committed it, is universally condemned and despised for it ? That such an one, by his debauched life, has ruined his health and fortune : (and it was here the strokes of satyr came in.) On the contrary, if he desired to recommend some good action to his imitation, he cited somebody who had done it with success, and always chose



## OF LATIN POETS.

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chose his examples out of the principal persons of the senate, and those of the greatest worth.

This manner of instructing youth has its great utility, provided it does not degenerate into detraction and satire \*. For examples make much more impression upon the mind, than any discourses, or precepts of morality. It is in the same manner Demea instructs his son in Terence's *Adelphi*:

*Nil præmitto, consuefacio. Denique  
Inspicere tanquam in speculum in vitas omnium  
Jubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.  
Hoc facito & hoc fugito, &c.* Act. 3. Sc. 3.

“ I omit nothing, and gradually accustom him  
“ to virtue. In fine, I oblige him to look into  
“ the lives of others, as into a glass, and to learn  
“ from their example to imitate the good, and fly  
“ the bad.”

If we may believe Horace, it is to these paternal instructions, received with attention and docility, that he was indebted for being exempt from great failings:

*Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis  
Perniciem quæcumque ferunt, mediocribus, & quæis  
Ignoscas, vitiis teneor.*

But it is also to the same lessons he ascribes, whether out of pleasantry or otherwise, the taste for satire which he retained during his whole life.

He is never weary of expressing himself upon his *Satyr. 6.* good fortune in having such a father, and speaks<sup>1. 2.</sup> of him with a gratitude that we cannot sufficiently esteem: “ As long as I am capable of thinking  
“ with reason, I shall never be ashamed of so good  
“ a father. I shall never imitate the generality,

\* Longum iter est per præcepta, breve & efficax per exempla.  
*Senec. Epist. 6. l. 1.*

## OF LATIN POETS.

“ who, to excuse the meanness of their extraction,  
 “ take care to observe, that, if they do not descend  
 “ from illustrious ancestors; it is no fault of theirs,  
 “ I think and speak quite differently. For, did  
 “ nature permit us to begin our lives again after a  
 “ certain number of years, and would give us the  
 “ liberty of chusing such parents as we thought  
 “ fit, others might chuse theirs by their vanity;  
 “ but, for my part, contented with my own, I  
 “ would not seek for noble ones, distinguished by  
 “ rods and axes, and curule chairs.”

*Nil me peniteat sanum patris hujus ; eoque  
 Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,  
 Quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,  
 Sic me defendam. Longè mea aîscr. pat. istis  
 Et vox & ratio. Nam si natura juberet  
 A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,  
 Atque alios legere ; ad fastum quoscunque parentes  
 Optaret sibi quisque : meis contentus, honestos  
 Fascibus & sellis nollem mibi sumere.—*

It must be confessed that there is great meanness of spirit in blushing at meanness of birth. The reader no doubt has observed, that most of the illustrious writers hitherto mentioned were of obscure condition, and that many of them were even slaves. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any man of sense to esteem them the less upon that account? Nobility, riches, office, can they be brought into competition with the talents of the mind, and are they always proofs of merit?

A. M.  
 3359.

When Horace had attained to about nineteen years of age, his father sent him to study at Athens, for he would not let him go; and kept him always under his eye, till he was of years to take care of himself, and to avoid the corruption of manners which then prevailed. He had studied polite learning at Rome, and had formed his taste principally by

by reading Homer. He proceeded to more exalted science in Greece, and applied himself to the study of philosophy. That study seems to have pleased him exceedingly, and he extremely regretted leaving so agreeable a residence sooner than he desired. Brutus, passing by the way of Athens into Macedonia, carried several young persons from thence along with him, of which number was Horace. He made him a tribune of the soldiers. Horace had then been four or five years at Athens.

*Romæ nutrirî mibi contigit, atque doceri  
Iratûs Græciis quantum nocuisset Achilles.  
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ,  
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,  
Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.  
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,  
Civilisque rudem belli tulit æstus in arma,  
Cæsaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.*

Epist. 2. l. 2.

A year after the battle of Philippi was fought, in which our poet, who was not born for arms, accordingly gave no proofs of his bravery, having taken to flight, and abandoned his buckler, as he confesses himself :

*Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam  
Sensî, relicta non bene parmula.*

Od. 7. l. 2.

Horace, on his return, was not long before he became known to Mæcenas. It was the excellent Virgil, for so he calls him, *optimus Virgilius*, who first spoke of this dawning merit to his patron. Varius afterwards confirmed what he had said, and seconded him. Horace was introduced. When he appeared before Mæcenas, respect for a person of his grandeur, and his natural timidity, confounded him so much. that he spoke very little, and with

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great hesitation. Mæcenas answered him in few words, according to the custom of the great, after which Horace withdrew. Nine months passed without Horace's hearing any farther, or taking any pains to do so on his side. It might have been thought, that Mæcenas, little pleased with his first visit, which did not seem to argue a man of great parts, had no farther thoughts of Horace. At the expiration of that term, he sent for him, and admitted him into the number of his friends; (these are Horace's own words) and from thenceforth they lived in the greatest intimacy:

*Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit. Optimus olim  
Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid esset.  
Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,  
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)  
Non ego me, &c.*

*Sed quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,  
Pauca. Abeo: & revocas nono post mense, jubesque  
Esse in amicorum numero. Satyr. 6. l. 1.*

Custom with us [*in France*] does not allow a man of learning, scarce known as such, to stile himself the friend of so great a lord as Mæcenas. The antients had more simplicity, but at the same time a more noble freedom of manners and greatness of soul. The Roman language, which was born in the bosom of liberty, had nothing of mean and servile in it, and did not admit any of those frivolous compliments with which ours is over-run: *Jubes esse in amicorum numero.*

But what I admire here is the generous behaviour of Virgil. He knew the young poet's merit, and perceived in him a genius formed for success in courts; and the event demonstrated he was not mistaken. He might have apprehended setting himself up in his person a dangerous rival, who from sharing at first in the favour of their common patron,

patron, might afterwards supplant him entirely. Virgil had none of these thoughts, which suit only a mean and sordid spirit, and which he would with reason have judged injurious to his friend, and still more so to Mæcenas. For the house of that favourite was not like those of most great lords and ministers, where every body regards solely their own interest; where the merit of others gives umbrage, and every thing is carried on by cabal and secret collusion; where fidelity and honour are little known, and where the blackest designs are often covered under the specious outsidings of great friendship and affection. "It is not in this manner," says Horace to one who promised, if he would procure him ever so little access to the person of Mæcenas, to put him soon into a condition of supplanting all others in his favour, "it is not thus we live at Mæcenas's. There never was an house of greater integrity, nor more remote from all intrigue and cabal than his. A richer, or more learned person there, gives me no manner of pain or umbrage. Every one there has his due place, and is contented with it"

————— *Non isto vivimus illic*

*Quo tu rere modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla est,  
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam  
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni  
Cuique suus.*

Satyr. 9. l. 1.

Mæcenas, from the first, did Horace good offices with the prince, against whom he had borne arms on the side of Brutus. He obtained his pardon, with the restitution of his estate. From thenceforth Horace began to be very familiar with Mæcenas, and to share in his confidence and pleasures. He accompanied him in his journey to Brundisium, as appears from the fifth satire of the first book.

Horace's credit and reputation increased every day by the poems he published, as well upon the victories

victories of Augustus, as other events and various subjects, whether odes, satires, or epistles.

The poet Quintilius Varus, Virgil's relation, being dead, Horace endeavours to console his friend upon that occasion by the xxivth Ode of Book I.

*Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor  
Urget ? cui pudor, & justitiæ soror  
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,  
Quando ullum invenient parem ?  
Multis ille quidem flebilis occidit,  
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.  
Tu frustra pius, heu, non ita creditum  
Pescis Quintilium deos.*

When Virgil himself set out for Greece with design to employ the leisure he went thither to find in revising, and putting the last hand to the *Æneid*, Horace, upon occasion of that voyage, composed an ode full of vows, which unfortunately were not heard. It is the third of the first book :

*Sic te diva potens Cypri,  
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,  
Ventorumque regat pater,  
Obstrictis, aliis, præter Iapyga,  
Navis, quæ tibi creditum  
Debes Virgilium ; finibus Atticis  
Reddas incolumem, precor,  
Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.*

*So may th' auspicious queen of love,  
And the twin stars, the seed of Jove,  
And he, who rules the raging wind,  
To thee, oh sacred ship, be kind,  
And gentle breezes fill thy sails,  
Supplying soft Elysian gales ;  
As thou to whom the muse commends  
The best of poets, and of friends,*

*Deft*

*Deſt thy committed pledge reſtore,  
And land him ſafely on the ſhore,  
And ſave the better part of me  
From periſhing with him at ſea.*

Dryden to Lord Roſcom.

We may judge of Mæcenas's tender friendship for Horace by the few words he wrote to Auguſtus in his will: *I conjure you to have the ſame regard for Horace as myſelf.* Auguſtus offered him the employment of ſecretary to himſelf, and wrote for that purpoſe to Mæcenas in theſe terms: *Hiſterto I have had no occaſion for any body to write my letters; but at preſent the multiplicity of affairs, and infirmity, make me deſire you to bring our Horace with you. Let him then ceaſe to be a \* paraſite at your table, and come to mine to aſſiſt me in writing my letters.* Horace, who was very fond of his liberty, did not think proper to accept ſo honourable an offer, which would have laid him under too great a reſtraint; and excuſed himſelf upon account of his real or pretended infirmities. The prince was not in the leaſt offended by Horace's reſuſal of that office, and retained the ſame friendship for him as before. Some time after he wrote to him to this effect: † *Believe you have ſome right to be free with me, and pray uſe it, as if we lived together: in doing which, you only act as you may with the juſteſt pretence; for you know it was my deſire, that we ſhould have been upon thoſe terms, if your health would have admitted it.*

With how many reflections does this little circumſtance ſupply us in reſpect to the goodneſs of Auguſtus, the frankneſs of Horace, the eaſy ſim-

\* Veniet igitur ab iſta paraſitica menſa ad hanc regiam. *The pleaſantry of Auguſtus turns upon Horace's not being of Mæcenas's family, and conſequently having no right to eat at his table.*

† Sume tibi aliquid juris apud me, tanquam ſi conviſtor mihi fueris. Rectè enim & non temerè feceris, quoniam id uſus mihi tecum eſſe volui, ſi per valetudinem tuam fieri poſſet. *Suet. in vit. Virg.*

plicity and unconstraint of the commerce of the world in those days, and the difference between ours and the manners of the antients? A privy secretary at table with an Emperor! A poet refuses that honour, without the Emperor's taking offence!

Horace's pleasures were confined to his houses either in the country of the Sabines, or at Tibur, where, free from care and disquiet, he enjoyed in an agreeable retreat all the sweets of leisure and repose, the sole objects of his wishes :

*O rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit  
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno & inertibus horis,  
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?*

The court, which is so pleasing to the ambitious, was to him only banishment and a prison. He thought he only lived and respired when he returned to his dear country abode, where he found himself more happy than all the monarchs of the earth :

*— Vivo & regno, simul ista reliqui,  
Quæ vos ad cælum effertis clamore secundo.*

A. M.

3997.

Ant. J. C.

7.

He died in the consulship of C. Marcus Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, at the age of fifty-seven, after having nominated Augustus his heir before witnesses, the violence of his illness not allowing him time to sign his will. He was interred at the extremity of the Esquiline hill in a tomb joining to that of Mæcenas, who died a little before him the same year. He had always desired, and even seemed to have bound himself by oath, not to survive him :

*Ab te meæ si partem animæ rapit  
Maturior vis, quid morer altera,  
Nec carus æquè, nec superstes  
Integer? Illè dies utramque*

*Ducet*



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*Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum  
Dixi sacramentum. Ibimus, ibimus,  
Uicumque præcedes, supremum  
Carpere iter comites parati.*

Ode. 17. l. 2.

The works of Horace consist only of his Odes, Satires, and Epistles, with the Art of Poetry.

I have spoken of his Odes, and given their character, in comparing them with those of Pindar.

His Satires and Epistles are, in my opinion, of inestimable value. They are void of all shew and glitter. Their stile is generally a kind of prose in verse, that has neither the pomp nor even the sweetness and harmony of poetical measures. This does not proceed from the incapacity of Horace to make fine verses. Does not the passage by which he excuses his want of sufficient talents for celebrating the actions of Augustus, demonstrate how capable he was of it?

---

*Cupidum, pater optime, vires  
Deficiunt. Neque enim quivis borrentia pilis  
Agmina, nec fracta pereuntes cuspidè Gallos,  
Aut labentis equo describat vulnera Partii.*

Sat. 1. l. 2.

Is there in any poet a description of greater elegance, expression, and energy, or one that paints a fact in livelier colours, than that of the country mouse's entertainment of the city mouse?

---

*Olim  
Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur  
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum:  
Asper, & attentus quæsit; ut tamen arctum  
Solveret hospitii animum. Quid multa? Neq; illi  
Sepositi ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ:  
Aridum & ore fereus acinum, semesaque lardi*

*Frusta*

## OF LATIN POETS.

*Fruſtra dedit, cupiens variâ-ſaſſidia cenâ  
Vincere tangentis malè ſingula dente ſuperbo.*

Sat. 6. l. 2.

The reſt of the fable is in the ſame taſte.

This elegance, this grace and ſpirit of language and images are not (generally ſpeaking) to be found either in the ſatires or epiſtles. What is it then that affects us ſo agreeably in reading them? It is the delicacy, urbanity, fine raillery, and eaſy manner, which prevail in them: it is a certain air and vigour of nature, ſimplicity, and truth: it is even that affected negligence in the meaſure of the verſes, which ſtill adds a more native air to the ſenſe, an effect the \* Marotic ſtile has in our language: it is a fund of reaſon, good ſenſe, and judgment, that ſhews itſelf every-where; with a wonderful art in painting the characters of men, and placing their faults and ridicule in full light. Only great and peculiar beauty and force of genius can make ſuch lively impreſſions as theſe on the mind, without the help of poetical graces, numbers, and harmony.

Quintilian contents himſelf, after having ſpoken of Lucilius, with ſaying, “ that † Horace has abundantly more elegance and purity of ſtile, and “ that he excels in criticifing the manners and vices “ of men.”

The art of poetry, with ſome of the ſatires and epiſtles that turn upon the ſame ſubject, include whatever is moſt eſſential in regard to the rules of poetry. This little eſſay may be conſidered as an excellent abridgment of rhetoric, and highly proper to form the taſte.

I ſay nothing of the manners of Horace. To judge of him only by certain paſſages in his works,

\* The ſtile of C. Marot, a French poet, in which Fontaine followed and excelled him. Its characters are the natural, ſimple, humorous, and antique, of which laſt it affects the terms.

† Multo eſt terſior ac purus magis Horatius, & ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus. Lib. 10. c. 2.

one would take him for the most virtuous man in the world, and even an austere philosopher. If we may believe him, "he finds all time long and tedious, but that which he employs in the sole object worthy of our cares, which is equally useful to rich and poor, and when neglected is alike pernicious to youth and age."

*Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quæ spem  
Consiliumque morantur agendi graviter id quod  
Æquè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquè,  
Æquè neglectum senibus puerisque nocebit.*

At bottom he is a true Epicurean, solely intent upon his pleasures, and so loose in his sentiments and expressions, that, as Quintilian says of him, a man of breeding or morality would not willingly explain certain passages in his works: *Horatium in quibusdam nolim interpretari*. This does not prevent his having excellent maxims of morality. It is with Horace as with the rest of the Heathen authors. When it does not clash with their darling passion, and the question is to lay down fine principles, not to put them in practice, they not only speak the most refined truths and the most elegant reason, but often even religion, in the most beautiful and just terms. This we ought to consider as the precious remains of the esteem for beauty and perfection implanted in the heart of man by the Author of nature, and which his corruption could not entirely extinguish.

## OVID.

OVID (*Publius Ovidius Naso*) of the Equestrian A. M. order, was born in the consulship of Hirtius and <sup>3961.</sup>Ant. J. C. Panfa, as well as Tibullus, in the 709th year of <sup>43.</sup>Rome.

He studied eloquence under Atellius Fuscus, and declaimed in his school with great success. <sup>Senec. Contr. 10. l. 2.</sup>

He

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He had by nature so strong an inclination for versifying, that to indulge it, he renounced all care of his fortune. But if this propensity to verse entirely extinguished in him the flame of ambition, on the contrary it nourished and augmented that of love, a most pernicious passion to those who abandon themselves wholly to it.

His father saw him quit the usual course of the Roman youth with pain; and absolutely renounce the hopes of honours and offices, to pursue an unhappy taste that tended to nothing, and of which no doubt he foresaw all the bad effects. He spoke to him in the strongest terms, made use of remonstrances and intreaties, asking him what advantage he could propose to himself from that frivolous study, and whether he imagined he should excel Homer either in reputation or fortune, who died poor? The lively reproaches of his father made an impression upon him. In deference to his advice, he determined to make no more verses, to write in prose, and to qualify himself for the employments that suited young men of his rank. Whatever efforts he made, or pretended to make, nature still prevailed. Ovid was a poet in spite of himself: the feet and numbers rose of themselves under his pen, and every thing he attempted to write, was verse.

*Sæpe pater dixit: studium quid inutile tentas?*

*Mæonides nullas ipse reliquit opes.*

*Motus eram diâlis, totoque Helicone relicto*

*Scribere conabar verba soluta modis.*

*Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos;*

*Et, quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.*

He composed with wonderful facility, and could not give himself the trouble to retouch his verses; all fire in composing, and all ice in correcting, as he tells us himself.

The

The negligence of his stile might be forgiven, if it was not attended with unbounded licentiousness in point of manners, and if he had not filled his poems with filth and obscenity. Augustus made them the pretext for banishing him: a very laudable motive, if the real one, for that conduct. Such poets are poison and contagion to the public, with whom all commerce ought to be prohibited, and their poems to be abhorred as the bane of mankind. But this was only pretext. A secret cause of discontent, of which Ovid often speaks in his verses, but in general terms and without explaining it, that has always remained unknown, was the cause of his misfortune.

He was banished to Tomos, a city of Pontus in Europe upon the Euxine sea, near the mouths of the Danube. The emperor neither confiscated his estate, nor caused him to be condemned by a decree of the senate, and made use of the term *relegare*, which, in the Roman law, is of more gentle construction than *to banish*.

He was in the fifty-first year of his age, when he set out from Rome to Tomos, and had composed his *Metamorphoses* before his disgrace. On his condemnation to quit Rome he threw it into the fire, either out of indignation, or because he had not put the last hand to, and entirely finished it:

*Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,  
Infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus:  
Hæc ego discedens, sicut bona multa meorum,  
Ipse mea posui massus in igne manu.*

Trist. l. 1. Eleg. 6. & l. 3. Eleg. 14.

Some copies, which had before been taken of that work, prevented its being lost.

The place to which he was sent was a real place of punishment to him: he gives us terrible descriptions of it in several parts of his poems. What

distressed him most there was his being exposed to the severe coldness of the climate, in the neighbourhood of a barbarous and warlike people, who were always in arms, and giving him perpetual apprehensions: a melancholy situation for a delicate Italian, who had passed his life in a mild and agreeable climate, and had always enjoyed ease and tranquillity!

Though he could not obtain either to be recalled, or to have the place of his banishment changed, he never failed in his respect for the emperor, and persisted unalterably in praising him with an excess next to idolatry. He may even be said to have literally and actually idolised him, when he was informed of his death. He not only wrote a poem in his praise in the Getic language, to make him known and respected by those barbarous nations; but invoked him also, and consecrated a chapel to him, where he went every morning to offer incense, and adore him:

*Nec pietas ignota mea est: videt hospita terra  
In nostra sacrum Cæsaris esse domo.*

*Hic ego do toties cum thure precantia verba,  
Eco quoties surgit ab orbe dies.*

De Ponto, l. 4. Epist. 19.

The successor and family of that prince had a great share in all this worship, and were evidently the real objects of it. Ovid, however, did not find it a remedy for his misfortunes. The court was as inexorable under Tiberius as before. He died in his banishment the fourth year of that emperor's reign, and the 77th of Rome, at about sixty years of age, after having been nine or ten years in Pontus.

He had desired, in case he died in the country of the Getæ, that his ashes might be carried to Rome, in order that he might not continue an exile after his

his death, and that the following epitaph might be inscribed on his tomb :

Hic ego qui jaceo tenerorum lusor amorum,

Ingenio perii Naso poëta meo.

At tibi, qui transis, ne sit grave, quisquis amasti,

Dicere : Nasonis molliter ossa cubent.

*Here Naso lies, who sung of soft desire,*

*Victim of too much wit, and too much fire.*

*Say, who have lov'd, whenever you pass these stones,*

*Light lie the earth on hapless Naso's bones.*

Ovid apprehended the immortality of the soul, (with more reason than he thought) and desired that it might perish with the body, for he did not care that his shade should wander amongst those of the Sauromatæ. Hence he desired that his bones might at least have a grave at Rome :

*Atque utinam pereant animæ cum corpore nostræ,*

*Effugiatque avidis pars mea nulla rogos.*

*Nam si morte carens, vacuas volat altus in auras*

*Spiritus, et Samii sunt rata diæta senis;*

*Inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras,*

*Perque feros manes hospita semper erit.*

*Ossa tamen facito parva referantur in urna :*

*Sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.*

He had composed both before and after his banishment a great number of verses, of which many are lost; and it were to be wished that still less had come down to us. His *Medea* is extolled for a perfect tragedy, which shews, says Quintilian, in whose time it was extant; of what that poet was capable, if, instead of abandoning himself to the luxuriance of his too easy and fertile genius, he had chosen rather to check, than indulge, its rapidity: *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum* Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.  
*vir ille præstare potuerit, si ingenio suo temperare quam*  
*indulgere maluisset.*

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The same Quintilian passes his judgment upon this poet's works in few, but very just and expressive words, and which, in my opinion, perfectly characterise them: *Lasivus quidem in Heroicis quoque Ovidius, & nimium amator ingenii sui: laudandus tamen in partibus.* And, indeed, Ovid's great fault is redundancy, which occasions his being too loose and diffused, and proceeded from the warmth and abundance of his genius, and his affecting wit at the expence of greatness and solidity; *lasivus.* Every thing he threw upon paper pleased him. He had for all his productions a more than paternal indulgence, which would not permit him to retrench, or so much as alter, any thing. *Nimium amator ingenii sui.* It must however be confessed, that he is admirable in parts: *laudandus tamen in partibus.* Thus in his Metamorphoses, which is indisputably the finest of his works, there are a great number of passages of exquisite beauty and taste. And this was the work he valued most himself, and from which he principally expected the immortality of his name:

*Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,  
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*

Metam. lib. 15. in fine.

## TIBULLUS and PROPERTIUS.

These two poets, who flourished at very near the same time, and excelled in the same kind of poetry, are judged to have wrote with great purity of stile and delicacy. Tibullus is preferred to Propertius.

## PHÆDRUS.

PHÆDRUS, a native of Thrace, Augustus's freedman, wrote in the time of Tiberius. We have five books of Fables, composed by this author in Iambic



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hic verse, which himself called Æsop's fables, because he made that inventor of them his model; from whom he has also often borrowed the subject of his fables :

*Æsopus auctor quam materiam repperit,  
Hanc ego posui versibus senariis.* Prolog. l. 1.

He declares, from the beginning of his work, that this little book has two advantages; which are to amuse and divert the reader, and at the same time to supply him with wise counsels for the conduct of life:

*Duplex libelli dos est, quod risum movet,  
Et quod prudenti vitam consilio monet.* Ibid.

And indeed, besides that the subjects of this work, in which beasts, and even trees, are introduced speaking with wit, are diverting in themselves, the manner in which they were treated has all the beauty and elegance it is possible to throw into it; so that Phædrus may be said to have used in his fables the language of nature herself, so plain and simple is his stile, and at the same time so full of wit and delicacy.

They are no less valuable in respect to the wise counsels and solid morals they contain. I have observed elsewhere, in speaking of Æsop, how much this manner of instructing was in honour and use amongst the antients, and the value the most learned men set upon it. Were we only to consider these fables by the advantage to be made of them in the education of children, to whom, under the appearance of agreeable stories, they begin so early to propose principles of probity and wisdom, we could not but conceive highly of their merit. Phædrus has carried his views still farther: there is no age, nor condition, but may find excellent maxims in them for the conduct of life. As virtue is every-  
where

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where treated with honour and crowned with glory in them; so they represent the Vices, as injustice, calumny, violence, in lively but frightful colours, which make them the contempt, hatred, and detestation of every body. And this undoubtedly was what exasperated Sejanus against him, and exposed him to extreme danger under a minister, who was the irreconcilable enemy of all merit and virtue. Phædrus mentions neither the cause, any particular circumstance, nor the event of this animosity. He only complains that all the forms of justice are violated in regard to him, having his declared enemy, Sejanus himself for his accuser, witness, and judge:

*Quod si accusator alius Sejanus foret,  
Si testis alius, judex alius denique,  
Dignum faterer esse me tantis malis.*

In Prolog. l. 3.

It is very probable, that unworthy favourite, who insolently abused his master's confidence, had taken offence at some strokes in those fables, which might be applied to him. But, as there was no name to them, his making that application was confessing, or at least knowing, himself guilty; Phædrus having no other view than to lash the vices of mankind in general, as he expressly declares:

*Suspicioni si quis errabit sua,  
Et rapiet ad se quod erit commune omnium;  
Stulte nudabit animi conscientiam.  
Huic excusatum me velim nihilominus.  
Neque enim notare singulos mens est mihi,  
Verum ipsam vitam & mores hominum offendere.*

Tbid.

Neither the time, place, nor any other circumstance of his death are known. He is believed to have survived Sejanus, who died in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Phædrus

Phædrus has given a very honourable testimony of himself, in declaring that he had banished all desire of riches from his heart :

*Quamvis in ipsa natus penè sim schola,  
Curamque habendi penitus corde eraserim.* Ibid.

He does not seem either so indifferent or disinterested with regard to praise, and is very apt to speak of his own merit. It was indeed so great, that we have nothing more excellent than his fables come down to us from the antient world, I mean in the simple and natural kind.

It is surprising that with all this merit Phædrus should be so little known and celebrated by antient authors. Only two speak of him, Martial and Epig. 20. Avienus ; and it is still doubted, whether the verses<sup>1. 3.</sup> of the first, that mention Phædrus, mean our author. So learned a man as Calaubon did not know that there was such a book as Phædrus in the world, till the edition published at Troyes, by Peter Pithou, in 1596. The latter sent one of them to F. Sirmond, who was then at Rome. That jesuit shewed it to the Learned there, who at first judged it spurious. But upon a nearer examination they changed their opinion, and believed that they saw some characters of the Augustan age in it. Father Vavassieur relates this little circumstance with his usual elegance.

In Tract.  
de Ludi-  
cra dict.

Fontaine, who carried this kind of writing to its highest perfection in the French language, by treading in the steps of Phædrus, has, however, differed greatly from his original. Whether he thought the French language not susceptible of that happy simplicity, which charms and transports all persons of taste in the Latin authors ; or found that manner of writing did not suit his genius ; he formed a stile entirely peculiar to himself, of which perhaps the Latin tongue itself is incapable, and

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and which, without being less elegantly plain and natural, is more humorous, more various, easy, and full of graces, but graces which have nothing of pomp, swell, and affectation, and which only serve to render the sense and circumstances more gay and amusing.

The same, in my opinion, may be said in respect to Terence and Molière. They both excel in their way, and have carried comedy to the highest perfection to which perhaps it is capable of attaining. But their way of writing is different. Terence excels Molière in purity, delicacy, and elegance of language. But then the French poet is infinitely above Terence in the conduct and plan of his plays, which form one of the principal beauties of dramatic poems; and especially in the justness and variety of his characters. He has perfectly observed the precept Horace gives poets who would succeed in this way of writing, that is, to copy nature in the manners and inclinations of men, which age and condition vary exceedingly:

*Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores,  
Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus & annis.*

Horat. in Art. Poet.

End of the SECOND VOLUME.

